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Cover illustration: Tame otter bringing fish to the head chef, according to Olaus Magnus (Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus, 1555)

Ethnologia Scandinavica is printed with the support of the Nordic Publications Committee for Humanist Periodicals. The journal publishes peer reviewed papers in English and German based on all branches of material and social culture, and in reviews, biographical notes and reports reflects ethnological contributions and activities in the Scandinavian countries. One volume of Ethnologia Scandinavica comprises approx 250 pages, published in one issue yearly. Subscription price for volume 2017 is SEK 350:–. Postage is included. Orders should be sent to www.eddy.se

Contents

Papers

Biographical Notes

Reviews

New Dissertations

Book Reviews

Editorial

By Lars-Eric Jönsson

This issue of *Ethnologia Scandinavica* starts with going back in time. John Ødemark deals with a historical depiction of a series of demonic possessions in the seventeenth century.

It was triggered by a woman's "truthful account of a terrible temptation by the devil" in Køge, Denmark, and Ødemark investigates how this story has been understood through history in different frames – religion, science and fiction.

Marie Riegels Melchior lets us stay in Denmark and in history, but in quite a different theme and period. Riegels Melchior has likewise written cultural history, but in a future-oriented context. Her case is Danish fashion and its attempts to go green, to become a more environmental friendly and socially responsible industry.

The following article by Kristina Gustafsson explores the meaning of culture in elderly care and the question of the impact of culture on elderly people's health. Gustafsson shows how culture, in its aesthetic sense, may be devalued to a means for health rather than being an end in itself, and how elderly people may be considered only patients or care recipients rather than individuals who like culture in its own right.

Markus Idvall continues with an investigation of cultural meaning and its effects on being a patient. His example deals with Parkinson's disease and the patients' relations to their illness, to the development of medial knowledge and hopes of curative therapies. How do these patients relate to science, that is, to knowledge that is subject to development and not yet tried in clinical contexts? Idvall writes about synchronizing the self with science and how individual patients utilize time in different ways in order to move tactically and navigate strategically, emotionally and with responsibility in relation to science.

This corporeal theme is in one sense resumed by Miia-Leena Tiili, whose article seeks and investigates cultural meanings of corporeal patterns and movements. Tiili elaborates the distinction between bodily and cultural knowledge and also how the former overlap the latter and vice versa. Her case was collected from the Finnish coast guard.

Siri Daa Funder continues with an article about the rationales for being transnational in a highly skilled professional context. She investigates the consequences of a labour market where transnationality and migration is a condition for success in the global labour market, and the challenges such conditions generate for four couples and newcomers to Denmark.

Daa Funder touches the problem of belonging, a concept further developed by David Gunnarsson in his article about national and religious belonging. His case is a set of guided tours of a mosque in Stockholm and the expression of respect during such tours, along with inequality and otherness.

The 2017 issue rounds off with two articles returning to history. Eva Reme takes her starting point in the Norwegian-born Frederick Monsen (1865–1929) who migrated early to the US and made himself known as a photographer of the southern Californian deserts, a former "out-of-the-way place" but in the twentieth century a successively more attractive location for intellectuals and artists. The desert became a place and contact zone for colonial encounters where people like Monsen un-

derstood and portrayed "the Indian" considered as free, primitive, natural and, of course, belonging to the past.

The final article is by Riin Magnus and Ingvar Svanberg, who investigate how wild animals have provided assistance to humans. Magnus and Svanberg give examples and analyse different relations between wild animals and humans that are sometimes of mutual interest. Through observing, taming and or training, this history give us examples of different human perspectives on and relations to animals. These two categories – humans and animals – that we tend to think with are self-evidently related to each other. Through history they have affected each other in ways which have created both distance and closeness.

This brief introduction to this year's issue of *Ethnologia Scandinavica* is, of course, not the result of thematic thinking on the part of the editor or the editorial board. Instead it gives the reader a set of articles that each, in its own right, gives valuable inputs to different fields of interest.

But let us rest just here, for a while, and consider the choices of investigations, the choices of empirical subjects. What topics do we choose to study? How do we choose our subjects for investigations and what impact do these choices have for our discipline?

These questions are not intended to question our choices but to highlight an interest in the consequences they entail. When *Ethnologia Scandinavica* was new-born in the early 1970s there was a certain dominance of themes such as food, peasant culture, fishery and museums. These themes were of course the results of a disciplinary tradition. Even though Nordic ethnology was about to change in those years, the discipline was still to a high degree defined by these and other closely related empirical themes, as well as its historical perspective.

As said, this was changing. Few of us would today define ethnology from an empirical point of view. Some would point to the concept of culture, or everyday life and practices. Some would point to a certain set of methods. But few would say that ethnology is understood and defined by its empirical topics. I would not either.

However, my point is that our empirical choices are vital for the development of our discipline. The topics we choose affect both the individual scholar and the ethnological field as such. In this issue we find three empirical fields that have attracted many ethnologists during the last few decades. I am thinking of migration, fashion and medicine/health. Ethnologists have made significant contributions to these fields. Let me focus on the latter as an example. In health and medicine we have explored patients' experiences and practices that from a medical point of view seem to be out of reach. We have gained insights into processes of social marginalization, into how quiet traditions work in the highly discursive field of medicine and how the materiality of nursing provides and restricts different actions. And much more.

I would say that ethnologists have brought many insights and considerable knowledge into the field of medicine and health. But how have all these studies affected our own discipline? What considerations, insights, scholarly experiences,

methodological and theoretical developments has it brought?

In my opinion, it would be of great importance to develop such questions and answers. I see many forums for such discussions – conferences and seminars but also *Ethnologia Scandinavica*. Soon approaching its fiftieth anniversary – 2021 – this would be an appropriate and very welcome undertaking for the Nordic ethnological community.

Inscribing Possession

Køge Huskors and Other Tales of Demonic Possession across Genres and Cultural Fields in Denmark-Norway (1647−1716)

By John Ødemark

In 1647, the Norwegian theologian Johan Brunsmand published a book on the demonic possession that took place in Køge at the beginning of the century. Brunsmand was born in Trondheim, and after studies in Sweden and Denmark he had worked as the headmaster at Herlufsholm School, and from 1679 he was the vicar in the Copenhagen home for the elderly. He was a prolific writer of both pious literature in Danish and erudite works in Latin (Bæksted 1953: 32–46). In 1674, he added to his literary output by publishing a volume with the full title *Et Forfærdeligt Huuskors Eller en Sandferdig Beretning om en Gruelig Fristelse aff Dieffvelen som tvende Fromme oc Gudfryctige Æctefolk i Kiøge for nogen rum tid siden haffver været plagede med* [A terrible house cross[1] or a truthful account of a terrible temptation by the devil which two pious and God-fearing spouses in Køge have been plagued by for some time] (Brunsmand 1953, n.p. hereinafter KH).

Brunsmand's "truthful account" was about a series of demonic possessions which happened in the house of Hans Bartskjær in Køge between 1608 and 1615. In 1612, Hans accused Johanne Tommeses of having caused the demonic possessions by magical means, and the trials in the aftermath led to at least 15 death penalties (Bæksted 1953:24; Gilje & Rasmussen 2002: 259). The events in the town of Køge played out at a time when legal persecution of witchcraft was at its peak in Denmark, and the Køge cases also left their mark on the witchcraft legislation that came into force in Denmark from 1617 (Kallestrup 2010; Levack 2008:195). First published in 1674, KH refers back to these events. Brunsmand himself regarded KH as a historical work. He had searched in archives in Køge for depositions, interviewed surviving witnesses and, most important, compiled the narrative from manuscripts originally written by Anna Hans Bartskjærs, the mistress of the haunted house, to document the earthly interventions of the devil and the plights of the afflicted family.

KH became very popular, but it was also fiercely rebuked as dangerous superstition. The work was republished in several new versions where Brunsmand extended the text and the original narrations with an increasing amount of comments on possession and its possibility. This editing history reflects the polemic over the work. "An entire cosmology was at stake" in the debate about *Køge Huskors,* writes H. Horstbøll (1999:500). The textual expansion of KH explicitly related the work to this quarrel over cosmology, and in particular, the question of whether spirits could act as corporeal agents in the human world. In this polemical context, then, Brunsmand defended the truth of his own and Anna's narrative. After 1700, however, KH would be published as popular literature and legend (*sagn*), not as the true and pious tale Brunsmand had conceived it to be (Horstbøll 1999:500ff.). Brunsmand, it appears, had lost the cosmological debate, while the narrative about the events in Køge had changed its cultural place in a manner that resembles processes described by R. Porter:

> However scorned and spurned during the age of reason, the demonic and the magical did not so much disappear from polite culture as change their face and place. Once disclaimed and tamed, they became available for cultural repackaging, notably in the domain of literature and the arts which were themselves enjoying phenomenal growth (Porter 1999:245).

In this article I will present a knowledge- and text-historical study of KH in the context of wider debates about preternatural phenomena in Denmark-Norway and Europe from the mid-1600s until the early 1700s. With KH as my point of departure I will thus move towards what historiography has construed as the "breakthrough" of Pietism and the Enlightenment. Moreover, I analyse KH in relation to two salient intertexts which oppose KH, and put the possession script of KH into cosmological play. These cosmological quarrels turned around what I will call the scripts for identifying, performing and diagnosing possession. A polemic intertext which Brunsmand needed to counter was written by Balthasar Bekker. The famous Dutch witch-sceptic attacks Brunsmand, and the mental health of Anna, in *De Betoverde Weereld* [The enchanted world] (1691). Another text which needed response was a little book called *Kort og sandfærdig Beretning om den vidtudraabte Besættelse udi Thisted* [Brief and truthful narrative about the famous possession in Thisted] (1699). This was published by Árni Magnússon, an Icelandic antiquarian often regarded as a founding father of Old Norse history. Árni scolded Brunsmand for taking "fairy tales" (*eventyr*) as truth and misleading the populace, and, still worse, he actually regarded KH as the textual model for, and hence the culprit behind, the possession in Thisted at the turn of the century. These polemical intertexts forced Brunsmand to defend his pious and true account against what was then becoming the official epistemological, theological and legal position.

S. Clark has claimed that demonology furnished early modern natural philosophy with "prerogative instances" for inquiry and thus served as the "cutting edge" in the intellectual debates that would eventually forge modern cosmology and science with a field for "autonomous" nature and natural explanations. Conversely, I trace a genealogy of *cultural inquiry* in the debates on possession and the preternatural. On the one hand, this is in line with H. Geertz's critique of K. Thomas's notion of a "decline of magic", which H. Geertz – *pace* Thomas – rather saw as the "rise" of magic as a category that marked cultural otherness (Geertz 1975; Thomas 1978). To be sure, we will find this development in the context of Danish-Norwegian possession narratives as well – in particular with regard to Sami possession as described by the missionary Isaac Olsen in *Om lappenes vildsfarelser og overtro* [On the errors and superstition of the Sami] (1716). However, magic is not only a category of otherness, but also a sign of identity in my material. Shortly after Magnússon's attack on KH, the lawyer and poet Tøger Reenberg pokes fun at "the clucking hens in Kiøge" in his *Ars Poetica* (1701). But surprisingly, he also identifies a certain cultural identity by associating the Old Norse magic and the now ridiculed possession tales with a Nordic poetic *Geist*.

First I examine salient aspect of the intellectual and cosmological stakes in the debate about such phenomena as Brunsmand and my other authors were concerned with. Next I turn to KH itself and I analyse how it inscribes the possession phenomenon textually, as well as how it relates to other cultural aspects of possession. Finally, I examine the reframing and contestation of Brunsmand's inscription

in the polemical intertexts, and the re-employment of possession tales in the context of Nordic poetics and Sami missionary ethnography.

The Intellectual Context of a Cosmological Quarrel

The phenomena Magnússon, Bekker and Brunsmand disagreed about – magic, possession and the preternatural – belonged to the same ontological field. Magic or witchcraft was a possible cause of demonic possession, while possession as an embodied sign of supernatural presence was also related to the domain of the so-called preternatural: the part of nature that in exceptional cases (abnormal bodies, comets etc.) could function as signs *in* nature addressed to man *by* "supernatural" agents (Daston 1998). N. Gilje has referred to this by using the notion of a "semiotic cosmos". With this he pinpoints not only that the world as God's creation was a space filled with meaning (e.g. "the book of nature"), but also that it was filled with super- and preternatural forces that on special occasions could communicate with humans by using irregular natural occurrences as signs (Gilje 2003).

The modern distinction between (meaningless) nature and (meaningful) culture only arises when the preternatural zone – through which supernatural and hence also super-cultural beings can signify – is wiped out (cf. Daston 1998).[2] Thus, ghosts and demons are no longer legitimate natural science objects, but can be studied as cultural fictions. We no longer expect to learn anything new about the non-human cosmos from such studies, "only" to attain insight into man's ability to create symbols and culture (Clark 1997:251–280, cf. Elmer 2007:44, cf. Ødemark 2011 relating Clark to Latour). In the context of the history of knowledge, however, these issues should be connected to what Stuart Clark – borrowing a phrase from F. Bacon – calls "prerogative instances" in early modern science (Clark 1997:251ff.). The debate on the reality of the possessions was a theme in official culture, and not marginalized as a scandalous sign of the bitter resistance of superstition to "enlightenment" (ibid.; Ferber 2004:3). On the contrary, demons and witchcraft were vital in the intellectual debates that would eventually forge "modern" cosmology. This was precisely because phenomena like demons and spirits had not yet been exorcised from natural philosophy – and because of the conflict about their ontological status contributed to creating the cosmological inventory recognized by what B. Latour calls "the modern constitution"; i.e. the sharp distinction of nature and culture, with the subsequent division of officially sanctioned knowledge into a field for cultural interpretation and natural explanation – from which preternatural signs were banished (Latour 1993).

The debates about the preternatural also formed a part of a wider concern with the meaning of "superstition". As the headword for a broad category of "supernatural" threats, *superstitio* was central in the early modern lexicon (Clark 1997). In present speech "superstition" mainly refers to beliefs and practices based upon faulty understandings of nature and causality; i.e. beliefs not warranted by science (Martin 2004:10). Thus, the term designates the other of true knowledge and (still) creates an asymmetrical relationship between various knowledge cultures

(Ødemark 2011). In the early modern period, *superstitio* referred to a theologically defined "other"; idolatry and a "perversion" of religion (Baily 2008). Consequently it did not reference statements about, or practices relating to, forces and beings without empirical existence (ghosts, demons), but to beliefs and practices that had "lethal connotations" (Clark 1997:474). In contrast to the modern or secular conception of "superstition", then, the pre- and early modern category subsumed phenomena taken to constitute literal threats – not the "mere" myths and ontologically unfounded assertions of the savage, uncivilized and unlettered mind, i.e. the objects of disciplines such as anthropology and folkloristics. This became particularly clear when *superstitio* referred to witchcraft and sorcery. S. Clark has explained how the term thematized the "natural inefficacy" of the magical means used in witchcraft, and the practitioners' "appeal to cause and effect relationships that were spurious in nature" (2002:120). It was actually "this inefficacy in magic that made it demonic" (ibid.). The categorizations made by the seminal Danish theologian Niels Hemmingsen (1513–1600) illustrate this. Hemmingsen classified magic as superstition in his treatise *Admonitio de superstitionibus magicis vitandis.* Here he also maintained that the devil was always involved when "popular magic" worked. Consequently magical practices concerning health and fertility in popular culture were criminalized (Hemmingsen 1575; cf. Gilje 2001, 2003). The main reason for this was that diabolical intervention was needed to make inefficient practices and rituals into effective causes – the magic formula actually only works when demons come to assist the practitioner (who often naively believed that it was the spell that furnished the efficient cause).

"Superstition" was redefined and, we could say, "humanized" in the course of the 1600s and 1700s, and in particular in relation to the debate concerning magic and the ontological status of spirits. In the wording of Peter Burke:

> Before 1650, the dominant meaning [of "superstition"] seems to be "false religion" […]. The term is often used of magic and witchcraft in contexts suggesting that these rituals are efficacious but wicked. After 1650, […], the dominant meaning […] came to be irrational fears and the rituals associated with them, beliefs and practices which were foolish but harmless because they had no effect at all (Burke 1994:241).

We could roughly say that the concept moved from thematizing forces or effects which could not be accounted for with reference to the regular workings of nature, and which therefore were often linked to supernatural agents. Gradually, the term begins to refer to misconceptions of nature. Belief in demons and magic appeared as individual madness or a cultural delusion that characterized the individual or collective "savage mind". Thus, "superstition" becomes an issue for the human sciences (Cameron 2010). Or, in the words of Roy Porter, "the demonic and the magical" did not disappear; rather it continued to live on in new cultural locations and genres, and became increasingly popular in literature and the arts. This shift of cultural location also implied that the demonic and the magical were "repackaged" as symbols of psychological or cultural conditions, as when "folk belief" was reframed to be enjoyed aesthetically at arm's length – for instance when KH

was recontextualized as a "legend" (Porter 1999:245).

All the elements discussed here along a diachronic axis come into play in the discussions about KH and the possession tales I am about to turn to. However, these tales also demonstrate how the "signs" of possession and the preternatural were activated differently in various cultural and narrative genres.

Shifting Genres: Cosmological Quarrel as Textual History

"An entire cosmology was at stake" in the debate about KH (cf. Horstbøll above). But what were the stakes? First and foremost the cosmological stakes were directly linked to Brunsmand's title; more precisely, to the author's promise of a "truthful account of a terrible temptation by the devil". Secondly, we have what we might call the ontological implications of that promise, namely, bodily possession by the devil as a literal reality. It was precisely this question of the devil's physical invasion of the possessed bodies that had cosmological implications: "Is this hallucinatory or real. What is the real?" de Certeau wonders while examining the possession in Loudon in France in the 1630s. He adds, "[t]hat is precisely the question asked during all these months [that the possessions lasted]" (Certeau 1996:93).

In the case of KH, the debate lasted not months, but years. Repeated doubt about the veracity of the account encouraged new editions of what to begin with had been written to enhance popular piety. This then moved the work into the centre of contemporary theological and scientific debate. As we have seen, opponents claimed that the topic of the book was a "fable" and reported "uncertain matters", as Brunsmand himself laments in one of the new text sections added to the original version of the book (KH: 220). Was KH a true account of the presence of the master of lies? Or was it itself based on lies, or at best made up by a sick soul?

KH appeared in many versions, also after the death of Brunsmand. In 1758 the story about the possessions in Køge was published under the title *Mærkverdige Trolddoms-historie* [Strange story of magic], and in 1819 it was included in *Danske folkesagn* [Danish folk legends] (Bæksted 1953:79 and 81; cf. Resløkken 2013). More than a decade later Johan Ludvik Heiberg wrote a vaudeville show – performed one hundred and five times in the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen between 1831 and 1913 – on the topic that Brunsmand had presented as a real cosmological drama involving God and Satan (*Dansk forfatterleksikon* [Danish encyclopaedia of authors]). Thus the narrative was detached from the original context of piety Brunsmand had written it into, and paratextually repackaged as fiction to be read for pleasure (Bæksted 1953; Horstbøll 1999:500).

New editions also continued to appear in Brunsmand's lifetime. In the 1690s the book was translated into German and Latin, and these translations were also picked up by European intellectuals (Bæksted 1953:75–85; Horstbøll 1999: 500). In these publications Brunsmand continues to expand the text with new sections providing new comments on the original testimony by Anna, and new historical examples of the reality of the phenomenon of possession. Doubts about the veracity of the account, and the increasing

erosion of the probability structure of the possession tale thus lead to an increase in the text mass contained within the book's cover. With a slightly anachronistic twist we might say that Brunsmand's purpose with these textual additions was – precisely – to prevent the account from being moved into the genre of folkloric curiosa.

The generic displacement from "true account" to "cultural fiction" may appear to be consistent with the narratives of secularization, modernization, and the disenchantment of the world sketched above. And to be sure, these are also processes where "traditional" ideas about supernatural actors are increasingly folklorized, debunked as fictions and thus ontologically drained of substantial reality: As we saw above, the "fall of magic" (Thomas) is also the "rise of magic" (H. Geertz) as a cultural category of otherness, and an *explanandum* reserved for the emerging human sciences. Through such processes the "truthful accounts" and "faith" of past or present "others" are displaced into the realm of cultural illusions or psychological delusions. Consider White's narrative of secularization as a cumulative transformation of faith into fiction:

> First nature, then God, and finally man himself have been subjected to the demythologizing scrutiny of science. The result has been that those concepts which in an earlier time functioned as components of sustaining myths […] have one by one passed into the category of the fictitious (White 1978:252).

The only firm ground here appears to be an anthropocentrically defined culture, construed by humans, and a myth-shattering science which apparently evades the fictitious (since it is science that debunks the founding myth). The conflict about the cosmology of KH both illustrates and complicates such a narrative.

Inscribing Possession through Philology and History

KH includes several genres which all in various ways logically and narratively argue for the literal reality of the phenomenon of possession. In part the book is a historical reconstruction of the incidents in Køge, in part it is a historical interpretation, and in part a theological commentary. In the centre of all editions of the book, however, is Anna's "truthful account of a terrible temptation by the devil". The theological reflection and historical reconstruction thus circle around this account, which was originally intended to serve as an edifying example for the reader, but which had to be defended as having a literal reference as the attacks upon its veracity increased. It is not least the narrative qualities of the account which have guaranteed its survival from cosmological transmutations and scientific paradigm shifts – as fiction in new genres (legends, etc.), where the original claim of "veracity" has been placed in parentheses or dropped completely. Anna's narrative continues to be quite unsettling.

KH has been seen as an example of a learned Danish adaptation of European demonology in the tradition of the Danish theologian J. Brochmand (Johansen 1998: 362). In KH the focal point is, however, Anna's account, and it is her singular story which is the basis for the theological and demonological commentary. Anna has the narrative voice throughout the whole section of the book titled *Huus-Kaarset*; this is also her title in one of the original manu-

scripts. The focus in Anna's story is not the cause of the suffering, the witchcraft her husband saw as the cause behind the possession in 1612. The main theme is actually the *effect* of the magic (the possession), and how the household members experience and survive "bearing the cross" with the spiritual and ritual means at their disposal. As we shall see, this may be linked to special features of learned Danish and reformed demonology. The moral and religious implications of Anna's pious tale, however, are also summarized in a concrete and educational language addressed to the "common man":

> Because the evil enemy deals with many ungodly things, as the cat with the mouse, which he has caught: he will play with them a little, and allow them to do much that is good and proper, so that he can better cheat and trick them and others [Thi den onde fiende handler med mange ugudelige, som katten med musen, den som han haver fanget: han leger vel lidt med dem, og lader dem gøre adskilligt, som godt og skikkelig er, på det han desbedre dem selv og andre kan bedrage] (KH: 57).

The beginning of the narrative became famous; it is in the same concrete register: The first sound giving the auditory premonition of a diabolical presence is expressed by a seemingly quite prosaic simile, "like the clucking of a hen" – "clucks" that will become a commonplace ridiculing superstition. One evening after the married couple have gone to bed, they hear sounds "som en høne der klukker sine kyllinger sammen" ["like a hen clucking her chickens together"] (KH: 109). Some days later the diabolical manifestation changes its sensory organ, from the ear to the eye, and the reader is presented to "a terrible *skrubbetudse* [toad]" which is seen walking on "tho høye smale been, som et høns" ["two high slim legs like a hen"] across the yard (KH: 110). Now the children in the house are also being harassed, and the subsequent night Anna and Hans' eight-year-old daughter relates that a big man with wondrous clothes entered her room. After this she stopped eating (KH: 110). The stage is set and Satan can now invade the first human body in the house. The victim is a twelve-year-old boy, who is first filled with anxiety, and who soon starts screaming, while his bed is shaking with inexplicable force. The eyes of the boy are wide open and no one can close them, but his mouth is closed so hard that nobody can open it (KH: 111).

Such symptoms and singular events were related to a wider cultural script. It was particularly subordinates, such as children and women, who were featured in the possession cases, and who thus may have acquired a speaking position they normally would be excluded from – when the devil spoke through just them (cf. Purkiss 1996:145 ff.). In contrast to witchcraft, demonic possession was not a crime. It was nevertheless a highly moral and religious ambivalent phenomenon. A salient case in point is Luther, who believed that possession was "a punishment for, or an instantiation of, sin" (Midelfort 2008: 217). Moreover, witchcraft (as in Køge) was generally considered a possible cause of possession, and hence the possessed person might also be seen as a victim of a diabolic invasion caused by witches.

Those possessed exhibited symptoms which were impossible to explain through available medical knowledge. The diagnosis was normally only applied when natural explanations came up short in the

face of such symptoms as supernatural strength, inexplicable spasms and twisted limbs that could not be put back in place, vomit of unknown objects, blasphemous speech with an uncommonly rough voice (still a well-loved feature in horror movies) – or speech in a language the possessed person was known to be unable to speak, such as Greek or Latin (Levack 2008b:118−119). The most spectacular symptoms, such as speaking in foreign languages, were absent in Køge.

The most well-known European, particularly French, cases, such as the possession in Loudon, were dramatic acts which attracted a large number of spectators, and which replayed the battle between God and Satan in public spaces and with the rite of exorcism as the culmination (Clark 1997:389−434; Certeau 1996; Ferber 2004). Compared to these, KH was a slow chamber theatre lasting several years, mostly within the walls of the merchant's house.

For Clark, Christian salvation history and eschatology constitute the symbol structure which gives meaning to the possession phenomenon in the seventeenth century. The large numbers of corporeal possessions were physical and historical manifestations of the great wrath of the devil, the *postremus furor Satanae,* which according to *Revelation* would prevail during the end of days (Clark 1997:409). As noted, the debate about possession was also linked to the question of preternatural phenomena: In certain abnormal cases natural objects might become charged with semiotic value, functioning as signs addressing humans from supernatural agents about historical matters concerning salvation.

This last issue was particularly important for Brunsmand. The historical reconstruction and the commentaries added in later editions of KH primarily aim to maintain the preternatural as a place where humans can seek a message with implications for salvation. Hence KH is actually more radically devoted to a defence of the preternatural, and is not "merely" concerned with the eschatological implications of demonic possession. At stake for Brunsmand is the very possibility for communication in a semiotic cosmos, and for divine intervention in history, even after the time of the apostles (cf. Resløkken 2013). Who would be the dispatcher of such signs? Was it God or the Devil making statements using "nature's book" as a vehicle for signs? And had such communication ceased at the time of the gospels? Actually, Brunsmand considers KH to be "certain" evidence for such communication:

> Additionally, some also claim, in conflict with the certainty of the House Cross, that in history there also exists a plenitude of supernatural events, or also omens and miracles: and such, they assert, are not to be believed because, as they think after the time of the apostles, no recognizable supernatural incident happens or can have happened, nor omens, wonders and miracles [Ydermere, fremføre og nogle dette, i mod Huus-Kaarsets Visshed, at der udi Historien ogsaa findis atskillige overnaturlige Hændelser, eller og Jertegn og Mirakler: og sligt mene de, staar icke til troendis, fordi der efter Apostlernis Tider, ingen kiendelig overnaturlig eller Jertegns, Vunders og Miraklers Hændelser, saasom de formene, enten skeer eller kan være skeed] (KH: 232).

Brunsmand applies the philologist's and the historian's tool kit to argue that the time of miracles is not yet past, but continues into the present. In the introduction,

he states that he wishes to go "*ad fontes*". He thus found the main source in a manuscript from Anna Hans Bartskjærs, for here "she herself [speaks]" ["[taler] hun selv"] (KH: 107). This source is further scrutinized with reference to the female author's *ethos*, the text's *logos*, and its – purportedly poor – stylistic qualities:

> as they are written by a female person, one should therefore be satisfied that the case is truthfully described, and not look for meticulous order or decorous words or speech: in particular because the best cloak of truth is simplicity [efftersom de ere aff en quindes person skreffne, mand faar der med lade sig nøye, at sagen er sannferdig beskreffen, oc ikke see enten effter zirlig orden eller høye ord oc tale: i synderlighed efterdi oc sandhedes beste klædning er enfoldighed] (KH: 106–107).

Thus the author's "female simplicity" is transformed into a stylistic asset and an epistemological guarantee of the "veracity" of the narrative. With this association of simplicity and veracity in place, Brunsmand can claim that his title keeps its promise of being history and *vera narratio* (true narration) in contrast to the fable and fairy tale critics had claimed that it was (cf. Pomata & Sirasi 2005:4). Obviously, this is also a promise Brunsmand had signed off on with his own authorial name.

With this historical and philological commentary, however, Brunsmand inscribes a narrative voice which may be placed more clearly in a "low" cultural and literary register than we find in the "source itself". Brunsmand asserts that he has had access to a "very old copy [heelt gammelt Exemplar]" of the manuscript which "appeared to have been written more than thirty or forty years ago" [siuntes at være skrefen for mer end tredeffe eller fyrretife aar siden] (KH: 109a). This is, then, a source which is chronologically closer to the events than the variant Brunsmand chooses for his *incipit*. The start of the "very old copy" is still disregarded as the opening of the "truthful account". The theologian prefers a text which opens with a report of sensory perception, and which directly sets the narrative in motion: "The first we *sensed* of the evil in our house […] ["Det første vi *fornumme* det onde i vort hus […]']" (KH: 109, my emphasis).

In the older copy, however, Anna starts with a meta-textual reflection on her own role as an author, and what it takes "[t]o write about our evil plight" ["[a]t Skriffve om voris huskaars"], as well as the *theological* importance of her account (ibid.). Anna emphasizes that Satan can only act with permission from God:

> God [is] the most powerful [who] has allowed Satan and evil persons to tempt and induce us […] day and night for seven years and more ["Gud den Allermectigste [som] har tilstedt Satan oc onde mennisker, at friste oc anfecte os […] dag og natt i siu aar oc lengre"] (ibid.).

This theological comment from the "simple" narrator actually goes straight to the heart of learned demonology, for Anna here assumes a cosmological balance of power where God permits Satan and his satellites "to tempt and induce us" ["at friste oc anfecte os".]. Thus, the original source of Anna's tribulations is, in the final instance, "God almighty" [Gud den Allermectigste] (ibid.).

On the one hand, this is an idea which is shared regardless of confession in European demonology, where the phrase stating that Satan cannot carry out evil deeds if God does not "allow" it is frequently repeated (Broedel 2003). This restriction maintains the dogma of an omnipotent

God, and it establishes a border against a Manichean cosmology with equally strong good and evil powers – a Manicheanism which may have reached its Christian nadir in early modern demonology (Clark 1997). On the other hand, the theological reflections of the "simple" narrator may also put us on the track of a peculiarity of thinking about the diabolical in Lutheran Denmark-Norway. This concerns the ritual means which may legally be applied when one is subjected to "temptations" and "scruples", and how and why the possession appears as a "cross" that must be borne. In Denmark, Peder Palladius, Zealand's first superintendent, firmly maintained that prayer, spiritual care and placing one's fate in God's hands were the only acceptable response to bewitching (Gilje 2001 and 2003:208). As in KH – which is also principally focused upon the effects of the original act of witchcraft that paved the way for the devil – this displaces the focus from witchcraft and diabolic agency, emphasizing the affliction. Because the affliction in the last instance came from an omnipotent God, suffering should be borne just as Job did (also a victim of tribulations of diabolic origin, permitted by God). Resorting to counter-magic would reinforce the vicious circle and remove attention from "the need for repentance or the benefits of 'bearing the cross'" (Clark 1998:60, 76).

Contesting Possession Scripts

Much recent research in cultural and intellectual history has pointed out that possession and witchcraft phenomena should be understood in reference to "cultural scripts" or interpretative schemes based on other expectations about which forces were at work in the cosmos. Nils Gilje, for example, asserts the following about the inclination of past actors to look for messages from God in natural signs:

> Similar to us, they had certain expectations about what it was possible to observe. They therefore interpreted their experiences based on a "scheme" – particular concepts or reference frameworks – which were virtually universally shared by the learned and the lay in the 1500s. Thus they were not very different from 21st-century men: We interpret and experience in our way and construe our data based on the same principles as people in the past. The decisive difference is that we operate with other interpretative keys or other categories […]. [I likhet med oss hadde de bestemte forventninger om hva det var mulig å observere. De fortolket derfor sine erfaringer i lys av et "skjema" – bestemte begreper og referanserammer – som langt på vei ble delt av både leg og lærd på 1500-tallet. I så måte skilte de seg ikke så mye fra mennesker i det 21. århundre: Vi tolker og erfarer på vår måte og konstruerer våre data etter samme prinsipper som fortidens mennesker. Den avgjørende forskjellen er at vi opererer med andre tolkningsnøkler eller andre kategorier […] (Gilje 2003:158−159).

Looking for and reading signs from God in the sky, or explaining suffering by referring to witchcraft is thus not necessarily an expression of failure of rationality – even if such ways differ from "our" models for interpretation, and a "modern" cosmology (cf. Skinner 2002).

Stuart Clark in particular has argued that the cultural difference of the past cannot be explained away by replacing past actors' concepts of reality with "our" concepts and ontologies. In a very influential critique of witchcraft research, he describes how causal factors "we" accept as *real* explain away phenomena such as possession and witchcraft, but thus also

obscure the hermeneutic horizons people in the past lived in and with. This primarily refers to sociological and psychological explanations: "Many accounts of the subject [witchcraft] have tried to explain it in terms of something *more real* – for example, some set of social, political, or psychic conditions", and explaining the phenomena by referring to a "language of pathology" (Clark 2001:5 my italics). Examples are psychological explanations which postulate that possession *really* is hysteria, schizophrenia or other medical conditions. Past ideas and concepts of reality are here understood as erroneous representations of an underlying reality, and hence "condemned as unreal" with our "true" reality as the epistemological and ontological yardstick (ibid., cf. Clark 1997:391).

In contrast to explanations which take possession back to what it "really" is, an underlying social or psychological nature, Clark postulates that possession is a cultural phenomenon, and that the reality of the phenomenon is "constituted by the categories in terms of which men and women conceive of it" (ibid.:399). Moreover, all sickness and suffering must be "performed" in recognizable forms to be diagnosed and calibrated with an inventory of symptoms and role expectations, and therefore always has a cultural aspect. The "script" which makes it possible to present possession as a recognizable phenomenon is also the interpretative framework which makes it possible to read the behaviour as a specific ailment, an example of a particular disease or disorder. It is therefore "analytically false to distinguish 'behaviour' from the symbolic structures which endow it with meaning", Clark maintains (through M. Lambek [M. Lambek cited ibid.:400, my emphasis]).

KH narrated and commented upon such a symbol structure. Moreover, its detractors surely sought – and mostly succeeded – to distinguish the behaviour of the possessed from Brunsmand's script – and to align it with other scripts for suffering. In Thisted they even seem to have persuaded criminalized victims of possession to turn to other symbolic structures to explain and experience their misfortune.

As initially mentioned, a set of polemic intertexts achieve particular retroactive power relating to Brunsmand's postulate that KH is a "truthful account". Let us first examine the one connected to the Dutch Calvinist, Cartesian and witch-sceptic B. Bekker, and then return to the Danish detractors of KH. Both seem to push KH into the realm of fiction; the first mobilizing rhetorical tropology, the second something resembling the sociology of popular belief.

1. Bekker. In *De betoverde Weereld* (The enchanted world) which Bekker began to publish in 1691, almost 20 years after the first edition of KH, he pays a visit to Køge. Bekker has no confidence in Brunsmand's "simple" and "truthful" narrator. On the contrary, he turns her into a pathologically unreliable narrator: "die gute Frau keinen guten Gebrauch ihrer Sinnen hatte" [The good woman had no good use of her senses] (KH: 300, n. 227). The origin of the "truthful account" which Brunsmand had decided to narrate is thus the debilitated mind of a sick woman. Bekker concludes that the account lacks veracity and "that the evidence after being examined by reason does not do" ["davon der Be-

weiss, nach der Vernunft untersuchet, nichts tauget"] (ibid.).

Bekker's criticism of "the enchanted world" has often been explained by referring to his Cartesianism and Calvinism. Cartesian dualism has no place for the form of interaction between bodiless spirits and physical bodies which bodily possession requires. Bodiless spirits simply cannot cross the ontological barrier between spiritual and physical matters, cannot "act upon a Body, nor upon other immaterial Spirits" (Bekker quoted in Cameron 2010:264; cf. Fix 1989:540 and Fix 1993). Besides, in line with Calvinist doctrine, Bekker opposed the almost Manichean balance of power which permeated demonological thinking. Bekker emphasized God's power over all things**,** indicating that the Bible in several places states that Satan has been captured and is under control, imprisoned in hell (Fix 1989: 539). However, it is not Bekker's business to deny Satan's existence, but rather to limit his power over the physical world. Moreover, his contribution to the world's "disenchantment" takes place with traditional theological and rhetorical schemes of interpretation; allegorical exegesis. Names and terms from Hebrew and Greek that are used about evil spirits – like the Greek "*diabolos*" (liar) or the Hebrew "*Satan*" (opponent) – do not, for Bekker, refer *literally* to spiritual actors, but rather *figuratively* to individuals who resist God's will, in other words to purely human actors. Hence *diabolos* as a physical actor on earth, with the power to influence material bodies, is to be considered a rhetorical figure (an evil working inside a human being). Angels and demons also exist in Bekker's cosmology, but they are unable to "act upon a Body" (Fix 1989: 540−541, 1993:577). This is because they are banished to a separate spiritual realm, and "forbidden" corporal associations with humans.

Perhaps it can be claimed that this position points towards a modern secular cosmology where supernatural actors are pure fiction, spirit is substantially different from matter, and the preternatural no longer is a place for communication, and, not least physical interaction, between humans and supernatural beings is banished. However, certain aspects of this disenchantment and fictionalization may also be considered a return to a medieval understanding of the relationship between the imagination, sensible reality – and the supernatural. Consequently, the historical accumulation of fiction at the expense of "sustaining myths" is far from as straightlined and unambiguous. One salient case in point is the famous *Canon episcopi*, which was a legal prescript[3] throughout much of the Middle Ages. Here the Sabbath (another scene for corporal interactions between humans and diabolical beings) was placed in the realm of the imagination:

> Have you believed or participated in this infidelity, that some wicked women, turned back after Satan, seduced by illusions and phantoms of demons [*daemonum illusioni bus* [sic] et *phantasmatibus seductae*], believe and affirm: that with Diana, a goddess of the pagans, and an unnumbered multitude of women, they ride on certain beasts and traverse many areas of the earth in the stillness of the quiet night, obey her commands as if she were their mistress, and are called to her service? […] For an unnumbered multitude, deceived by this false opinion, believe these things to be true, and in believing this they turn aside from sound faith […] (*Canon episcopi* quoted in Kors & Peters 2001:65, Latin quoted from Caro Baroja: 268, n. 7).

Canon episcopi, moreover, indicates that notions of a nightly ride are not so dangerous per se, but for the fact that weak souls are attracted to such beliefs, and that they therefore implied the danger of a relapse into pagan ideas (ibid.).

2. Magnússon. As we know, the truthful account of KH was also captured in the debate on the possession by the devil in Thisted at the end of the seventeenth century. Particularly important was the intervention of the Icelandic antiquary Árni Magnússon. *Kort og sandfærdig Beretning om den vidtudraabte Besættelse udi Thisted* [Brief and truthful account of the widely known possession by the devil in Thisted] (1699) was published anonymously, and contained a summary of the Thisted case. It was written on assignment by M. Moth, who was a judge in the case. Magnússon's "truthful account" has – already in its title – a clear intertextual link to Brunsmand's "truthful account". But according to Magnússon, the truth of the matter is that it was the "fables" and "fairy tales" (*eventyr*) disseminated in Brunsmand's book that caused the incident. Not the devil himself, then, but stories about him masquerading as "true" were to blame. In Magnússon's counter-account the explanation for the possessions in Thisted is thus not to be found in demonology, but in something similar to a cultural interpretation focused upon the mimetic relation between texts and actions.

This interpretation is actually not unrelated to the idea of a constitutive relation between texts or symbolic structures – scripts – and behaviour that I dealt with above. The vicar in Thisted, Ole Bjørn – also originally from Norway – was a reader of KH. He assembled the possessed women in the local church, and used forms of exorcism, which were not strictly in accordance with the official, Danish-Norwegian church ritual. Ole Bjørn was also eager to institute legal proceedings against the witches, who here, as in Køge, were assumed to be the human intermediaries of the diabolical intervention. A Royal Commission was appointed; and after it had given its ruling Ole Bjørn was barred from his pastoral position, and even banished from Jutland for fraud in 1697. The incriminated priest's appeal to the Supreme Court the subsequent year did not succeed (Appel & Fink-Jensen 2009). Magnússon's account of the case, then, was the official one; it represented a new policy for dealing with religious excess and superstition, not an act of isolated, individual "enlightenment heroism".

Ole Bjørn had used KH as a script for understanding the extraordinary events he was confronted with – or to create them fraudulently through a kind of "mimicry", as his opponents claimed. At least some of the possessed women were clearly also familiar with KH as a script for the dramatic performance of a demonic possession. We find an example of this in the deposition of Maren Hansdatters, one of the possessed who was later hospitalized. According to Maren, Ole Bjørn had proclaimed from the pulpit that "they would see that it would be worse in Thisted than with the Kiøge house cross" ["[d]e schulle see, at det blef verre i Thisted end med Kiøge huus-kors"] (Bæksted 1953:69, n. 1). This reference also demonstrates that Køge and Brunsmand's work was a cultural commonplace shared by the populace and elites. In more general term we could say

that the popularity of books such as KH puts binary divisions between popular and learned perceptions of possession and witchcraft under pressure (cf. Kallestrup 2010:192; Nenonen 2007).

Magnússon concludes his text with an attack on "the so-called house cross in Kiøge" ["det saa kaldede Huus Kaars udi Kiøge"], which Ole Bjørn, following Brunsmand, had invoked as "no uncertain history" ["utviflagtig Historie"]. The book which cites and debunks the title of KH concludes with a firm rejection of its truth claim:

> In conclusion it is here appropriate to report on the recently printed account of the so-called house cross in Kiøge. That, as Mag. Oluf [Ole Bjørn] in his writing to the Bishop (pag: 23), as well as later, always stated that this was a story without uncertainties, indeed even more when this case of possession in its nature and manner appears to be quite fictitious. Thus we see what damage and injury can be caused when one sends such uncertain fairy tales to be printed, to advance the knowledge of the common man [Til Beslutning falder her at melde om den ved Trykken udgangne Beretning om det saa kaldede Huus Kaars udi Kiøge. At som Mag. Oluf udi sin Skrivelse til Bispen (pag: 23) saavel som siden stædse udi Sagen sig der paa, saa som en utviflagtig Historie, have beraabt, ja ydermeere, som siunes, efter dens Aledning og Maade dette ganske Besettelses Verk opdigtet. Saa sees der af hva Uordner og Skade det ofte kand foraarsage, at mand slige uvisse Eventyr til Trykken, og gemeene Mands Kundskap befordrer] (Magnússon 1891:111−112).

Here, then, KH and the "fictitious work of possession" are placed – precisely – in the realm of fiction. Thus we see that KH appears both as a producer of incidents, serving as a script or mimetic model for later possessions, and also that almost at the same moment that it is made real through imitation in Thisted it loses its textual "reality effect" (Barthes) in the official culture. The imitation now appears as a copy of an illusion without real reference.

It is the textual model or symbolic structure furnished by Brunsmand's *vera narratio* – itself supposedly a transcription of a woman's tale of encounters with the demonic – that is the real agent. Moreover, the danger is located first and foremost in the transmission of tales between humans, not in the traffic between human and supernatural bodies.

Possession as Cultural Identity and Otherness

With the hospitalization of Maren, the fictionalization and cultural declassing of KH (now published as legend, ghost story or as a document of a past mentality) it is tempting to state that the Danish-Norwegian possession cases have gained their place in psychopathology, or in culture as "the wild thoughts of the common man". However, the reemployment of the cases and the referencing of possession in two particular cultural genres, a Nordic *Ars Poetica* and Sami missionary linguistics and ethnography, disturb such a story of smooth progress. While Sami magic and possessions continue to be dealt with as real phenomena until late into the 1700s, the reuse of Norse magic in literature and history reemploys Køge and Thisted in a discourse on the *Geist* of Nordic literature.

In *Ars Poetica* (1701) the Danish poet and lawyer Tøger Reenberg associates the possession cases in Køge and Thisted with the magic mind-set from which Norse poetry arose. The poet localizes what he actually calls the *Geist* (spirit) of Nordic poetry in the figure of *Óðinn.* In the *Rúnatal* and *Ljóðatal* sections of *Hávamál*, the

deity takes control over the power of runes and spells, and thus combines voice and writing in an original poetico-magical performance. Thus, a particular Nordic *Geist* was constituted in this use of magic and runes, and Nordic poets should relate intertextually to this origin to preserve their own poetic identity, Reenberg maintained (Reenberg 1997:140 and 143−144). Decades before the Romantic calibration of the idea of a *Volksgeist*, Reenberg thus identifies the collective *Geist* of Nordic literature – a corpus of literature connected to a geographically defined collective spirit by linking it to magic (Reenberg 1997:145−146). It is precisely in this context that he invokes the possessions in Køge and Thisted. Even if the "Geist" in the *Edda* and Thisted/Køge belongs in the fictitious space of past of superstition, there is also cultural value in the possessed place they share. The spirits from Køge and Thisted survive as a kind of textual and cultural heritage, for Norse magic

was only sorcery [*kogleri*],
  they used to play ghosts [*spøge*];
just as in the witchcraft in
Thisted,
  and clucking hens in
Kiøge.
It lasted until God almighty
  lit his light up North,
Then runes were cleansed away,
  and left without goodbye.
Through mindless zealotry
  all writings were
condemned;
Thus we lost
  the accomplishments of
our forefathers

[Var kun Koglerie,
  De havde med at spøge;
Ret som den Tisted Hexerie,
  Og Høne-Kluk i Kiøge.
Det vared', til den store Gud
  Sit Lys i Norden tendte,
Da bleve Runer rydded' ud,
  Og uten Adskiel brændte.
Ved ubesindig Nidkierhed
  Fordømtes alle Skrifter;
Og vi forliisede derved
  Forfædrenes Bedrifter]
(Reenberg 1997:141, my italics).

In making the association between past poetic possessions and contemporary "fables" and "fairy tales" passing for "true accounts", Reenberg was indebted to P. H. Resen's edition of the *Edda* fables. However, he was also indebted to earlier commentators such as Ole Worm. Worm had linked a hermetic insight into the nature of the cosmos to the runes (which he associated with the magical and ancient wisdoms assumed by hermetic and Neoplatonic authors to be contained in Egyptian hieroglyphs). Consequently, he also viewed the Norse script as a potential carrier of an ancient wisdom about the cosmos (not a "mere" local insight formed by one particular Norse or Nordic culture) (Ødemark 2011). For Reenberg, however, the fictive worlds shared by ancient and contemporary "possessed", are tamed as fiction and "cultural heritage". The Old Norse magic can be – poetically – calibrated with the contemporary possession cases, and assigned the same epistemic value, as literature.

In Reenberg, a mark of otherness appears to be turned into a sign of identity: Magic and witchcraft are cultural traits that have been associated with the north in European intellectual discourse for centuries, an association often attributed to Olaus Magnus' *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555). The Northern

periphery earned a central place in European symbolic geography, as is testified by the way authors like Cervantes and Shakespeare, and a historian and demonologist such as Bodin, located magical scenes and diabolical forces in this region. The geo-symbolic linkage between the north and magic is, however, older. It is present in Saxo, as well as in the mid-twelfth-century *Historia Norwegie* and the *Vetus Chronica Sialandie* (Mitchell 2011:106−107). And as Stephen Mitchell has observed: "Magic, witchcraft, and sorcery as a means of identifying or characterizing in such a context that which was understood to be foreign, distant, or 'other' appears to be a common theme in all of them" (ibid.:106).

In the ethnographic present of Finnmark, however, the term "rune" and demonic possession continue to refer to literal dangers, and to "otherness". Isaac Olsen composed a short work *On the errors and superstition of the Sami* [Om lappenes vildsfarelser og overtro] in 1716. Here we encounter both the cultural register that Reenberg deployed to poeticize possession as a cultural fact of identity, and the individual register Brunsmand used to construct a pious example of how to bear the cross.

Olsen was a key provider of knowledge to the officially sanctioned Sami mission of Thomas von Westen. The Pietist Thomas von Westen described as superstition the ideas of a *noiadi* (Sami "shaman") who boasted of having killed eleven persons using *gand*, but he also added that "all of us here up north" would have been equally stuck in superstition without the aid of true Christianity (quoted in Amundsen eds. 2005:253). Von Westen's statement illustrates that the relation between "us" and "them" in these discourses is obviously "still" not purely anthropological. Implicated in a missionary endeavour, they are obviously related to an elsewhere beyond human culture; "we" living "here" in the North are dependent upon "true Christianity" to escape superstition. The victory over superstition is consequently not to be conceived as a mere human and cultural achievement. Moreover, the ritual practice of the other, *gand*, represents more than the "mere ritual" of a foreign "culture" seen as an earthly and human organization of forms of thought and action.

Olsen's text is part of this missionary project: His manuscript contains a set of narratives on individual, demonic possession among the Sami, the "target culture" of the evangelical endeavour. These stories of possession are inserted in the text amid his more general reflections about Sami idolatry as a collective, religious phenomenon of idolatry and superstition. Thus we could say that the possession narratives in this text are placed in-between the individual register (characterizing KH) and the more collective registers in Reenberg's text, where a particular poetic and cultural *Geist* is associated with the North. Olsen tells about Sami haunted by specific Sami "demons" (both supernatural idols and human *noaidis*). Hence, it appears that the bodily possession by the devil "survives" in the missionary text and the missionary context as a literal phenomenon.

This appears to be the case not least of all when Olsen examines stories about Sami who have undergone an ethnic passing, but are – corporally – plagued by demons – even when living among, and

dressing as, Norwegians. While Brunsmand believed in real diabolical agency, and Árni Magnússon explained the "same" phenomenon with reference to popular gullibility, the explanation for possession in Olsen's text appears to be both cultural *and* biological: "[M]agic is inherited among them, and they can inherit magic, *gand*, and devilry after each other in the family" (1716/1910:9). Thus, the Norse text that Reenberg attempted to turn into a literary and symbolic heritage is "reinvested" with an ancient function of othering.

Concluding Remarks

In this article I have presented a knowledge- and text-historical study of KH in the context of wider debates about preternatural phenomena in Denmark-Norway and Europe from the mid-1600s until the early 1700s. With KH and the debate about it as my point of departure I have followed developments towards what in traditional historiography is narrated as the breakthrough of Pietism (in Denmark-Norway) and the Enlightenment, and, not least towards the "cultural repacking of magic and the demonic" that Porter spoke about. I maintain that we cannot analyse the transformations of superstition and possession (magic as danger/magic as "mere" error and/or cultural symbol) as clear breaks between distinct and bounded paradigms, nor as the cumulative victory of "enlightenment". Such framings have been challenged by examining how the signs of possession and the preternatural were activated differently in particular texts as well as in various *genres* (poetics, pious literature, theological discourses, and missionary ethnography). By doing this, I have shown that possession as a sign changes value in relation to various genres, but also socio-cultural sites; it survives as a literal threat among the Sami, while it serves as a source of poetic identity from the Norse past in poetics.

With reference to Clark's notion of the mutual implication of behaviour and its (singular) explanatory symbolic structure, I will finally note that the quarrel over the narrative in KH, and the tale's ability to remain relatively intact as it crosses into shifting genres, appears to imply a possible division between symbolic structure, experience and explanation, as well as the possibility of re-describing at least aspects of the same behavioural data from different epistemological vantage points, even if the cosmological implications of the data differ: "*This* is demonic possession!"; "no *it's* not, *it* is deceit, *it's* madness!".

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Notes

1 The word *huskaars*, which here and in several instances below is translated literally as "house cross", is significantly more semantically charged than the English translation. It involves the notion of a domestic cross to bear, a plight or an affliction of a religious or moral nature, and it is typically associated with the feminine. I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for pointing out these difficulties of translation.

2 Cf. "Supernatural, preternatural, artificial, unnatural – these were the forms of the non-natural that bounded and defined the natural for early modern Europeans. Moderns oppose different complements to the natural: nature versus nurture, nature versus culture – this last a word that early moderns seldom applied to

anything except the cultivation of the land. Even anthropologists, professionally alert to the plasticity of cognitive and moral categories, habitually divide up the world into nature and culture and set about exploring the symbolic and ecological relationships between the two. Yet the very categories of nature and culture, conceived in yin-yang complementarity, are of relatively recent provenance. The contrast between early modern and modern versions of the non-natural is striking. In the current metaphysical vernacular, the artificial has been swallowed up by the natural, the supernatural has shrunk to a philosophical possibility, the unnatural rings archaic, and the preternatural no longer exists at all" (Daston 1998:154).

3 From approximately the tenth century a part of Gratian's *Decretum*.

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Are Fashion Histories Sustainable?

Some Concerns about Engaging the Past in Present Fashion Practices in the Age of the Anthropocene

By Marie Riegels Melchior

The philosopher Sverre Raffnsøe (2013) reminds us that we humans are ontologically in the process of what he calls the "the human turn". Human nature is now decisive, with colossal significance for the world we live in.

> With the human turn, the human element steps forward as something that must find its own nature, since it comes into being in relation to, and in an interplay with, something other and something more than the merely human. Explorations carried out under the heading "The Human Turn" look not at the human element in itself, but rather at the contemporary human conditions and the opportunities they offer for human coming-into-being (Raffnsøe 2013:24).

It is inevitable to acknowledge "the human turn", but as an ethnologist, it feels to me like a call for further scholarly-informed social engagement. What steps can we take to intervene proactively in shaping the human condition – a condition that we have long studied, be it with shifting aims of remembering the past, or interests in identifying the differences that characterize everyday life and people's varied ways of practising "the good life" (e.g. Stoklund 2003; Svensson 2012; Damsholt 2015)? Thus, this article is concerned with how I, as an ethnologist with a cultural-historical approach to the study of everyday life, can contribute to the shaping of a more sustainable human condition. I will unfold my concerns through my specific field of study, Danish fashion, as it was via this topic that the apprehensions of the anthropocene first became apparent to me, thereby prompting my current research interest.

In the following, the contemporary condition of Danish fashion and its social responsibility and sustainability discourse will be introduced in order to situate my research interests and the origin of my desire to take upon myself a more interventionist, ethical and responsible research position. From this point of departure, the current state of research into the topic of fashion and sustainability will be consulted and discussed with reference to my ongoing research into Danish fashion in the first half of the twentieth century, in order to suggest how to contribute to the field using a historical approach. What I suggest is a "back to the future" strategy, in which past fashion experiences are called upon in order to intervene in present practices of fashion consumption and use. Rather than coming to a definitive conclusion, I intend to initiate debate about a possible approach, and to discuss the immediate concerns that arise when the object of one's study transforms from knowledge of the past and how changes have occurred over time, to how to make use of that past to intervene in present and future practices in the hope of improving the sustainability of fashion and the human condition as such. The anthropologist Richard Wilk has argued that anthropologists have to "think of [themselves] as participants in change rather than just critics" (Wilk 2009:274). I share Wilk's point of view, which echoes the tradition of strategic social science action-research (Madsen 2012: 2). One significant difference, however, is the issue of historical scope, which I address proactively and which frames the concerns raised in the article.

"Beyond Next Season": When the Danish Fashion Industry Turned "Green"

Over the last ten years, the Danish fashion industry has repeatedly asserted that

"green" is the new black, to use the fashion business lingo. In particular, the Danish Fashion Institute (DAFI, a network institution established in 2005 by the Danish fashion industry and the Danish government) has been advancing this view since 2008, when it inaugurated the Nordic Initiative Clean and Ethical. NICE is a joint venture between DAFI and its Nordic counterparts to promote a more sustainable fashion industry by helping fashion designers and textiles companies to source in accordance with Nordic ethics and values.[1] The "green" discourse in fashion is not exclusive to the Nordic fashion industries, however; rather, it is a general discourse of the global fashion industry in its attempts to improve and to counter the frequent criticisms it receives from environmental activists.

Since 2008, the NICE initiative (reorganized in 2016 as the *Global Fashion Agenda,* based in Copenhagen) has grown from proposing codes of conduct for Nordic fashion companies to hosting the international biennial *Copenhagen Fashion Summit*, initiated in 2009 to motivate the industry to achieve environmental sustainability. Recently, the NICE initiative prompted the Nordic Council of Ministers for the Environment to declare a joint action plan for sustainability in the Nordic fashion and textile industries.[2] Reports on the use of textiles in the Nordic countries showed that by 2012, the volume had reached 13–16 kg per capita per year (35 per cent more than the average textile consumption per capita in the rest of the world). Based on the assumption that more than 50 per cent of the clothes consumed in the region were neither reused nor recycled, the action plan suggested four focus areas for improvement:

- promoting sustainable Nordic design;
- lowering the environmental impact in production;
- increasing the market for environmentally friendly fashion and textiles; and
- encouraging a market trend towards more recycling and reuse (Norden 2015: 13).

More specific regulatory initiatives include plans to create a Nordic academy of sustainable fashion responsible for educating the industry's employees and training them in sustainable fashion production; to establish greater Nordic influence in the EU concerning documentation and labelling of Nordic fashion and textiles in order to promote transparency between producer and consumer; to initiate Nordic guidelines and cooperation on green procurement; and to identify market barriers and drivers for the recycling and reuse of clothing and textiles (Norden 2015). These initiatives have in general been welcomed by the industry, and the report emphasizes possible business opportunities, mainly in the area of recycling. However, to other organizational stakeholders, the report was a challenge, since it conflicted with the suggestions proposed in a road map study prepared for the Nordic Council of Ministers at the same time as the report was published. The road map argued that the industry's so-called fast fashion[3] business model is the main challenge, since despite its recycling efforts, the industry remains eager to expand resource inputs in the textile value chain rather than reduce such inputs and redirect its focus on quality issues. In order to incentivize these changes, the roadmap suggested the Nordic fashion industries adopt local pro-

duction, use locally-sourced raw materials (e.g. wool and other fibres cultivated in the region), and stimulate communication between producer and consumer to explain how these sustainable practices will impact quality and price (Klepp *et al*. 2015).

As a person studying Danish fashion, these events and their negotiations of best practices are difficult for me to ignore. However, the immediate reaction could be to conclude that it is simply too difficult to fit fashion into a discourse of sustainability at all. Eva Kruse, the director of the Danish Fashion Institute, acknowledged as much in a statement at the 2015 Fashion Summit:

> We don't buy fashion to save the world. Even though I'm pioneering for this, I'm not going to buy fashion just to save the world. I'm always going to buy fashion because I like the colour, or it makes me look good.[4]

Fashion stimulates dreams and aspirations rather than rational choices (Wilson 2003). Fashion exerts a powerful force over the choices people make regarding their appearance and consumption habits, as both an image and a commercial product. The challenge of the sustainability agenda is to appreciate the powerful force fashion exerts on human lives and to transform it into a resource for a sustainable future – though there is little doubt it will be challenging to do so without sacrificing fashion's distinguishing characteristic as irrationally aspirational. This point of view is shared by one of the leading international trend analysts, Li Edelkoort, among others. In 2015, Edelkoort issued an "Anti-fashion Manifesto" in response to her perception of the collapse of the fashion system, defined as the complex system of producers and distributors processing fashion from creators to consumers. She called for the industry to regain its cultural value as a so-called "change agent" that pushes fashion forward (Cordero 2016). How to make this change happen is the core challenge, and is the focus of current negotiations among researchers and practitioners.

Fashion and Sustainability Research in the Time of the Anthropocene

Focusing on the research field of fashion and sustainability, a great variety of trajectories and ambitions appear: from ideological, overused approaches, to more analytical, explorative ones. It is clearly a difficult subject to handle, as it can so easily fall into moralistic, normative instructions of do's and don'ts, even as it is difficult to foresee the impact of the suggested actions on the global environment in the long run. Clearly, the field provides a space for renewed critique of capitalism, with fashion as its prime materialization: whether we look at women and child labourers in painful and hopeless situations in the global textile and garment industry, or water supplies spoiled by unregulated textile dyeing practices, it is fashion per se – from the industrialist to the supposedly self-centred consumers that encourage the acceleration of fashion production – that is to blame. Dichotomies of good and evil in the context of fashion are promoted through such studies as a simple case of the problem on the one hand (e.g. fast fashion and capitalism/growth economy) versus the solution on the other (e.g. slow fashion and anti-capitalism/post-growth economy) (e.g. Cline 2012; Hoskins 2014). It is difficult not to concede ele-

ments of this critique of the fashion industry, as certain aspects of fashion production and consumption do tend to stimulate greed and display insufficient commitment to saving our natural environment for future generations. The one-sidedness of these studies blurs their impact, however, because both the problem and the solution are more complex.

Setting these polemical studies aside, the research field can be divided into at least three different research positions: the business model approach (e.g. Hvass 2015), the design solution approach (e.g. Black 2008; Fletcher & Grose 2012; Skjold *et al*. 2016); and the consumption advice approach (e.g. Klepp 2000; Clark & Palmer 2005; Palmsköld 2013; Netter 2012; Bly *et al*. 2015; Laitala *et al*. 2015). These positions share a drive towards stimulating change. They seek, each in their own way, to challenge the status quo by calling attention to the short-sightedness of current practices with respect to the global environment. What was accepted as standard practice since the Second World War and the increased industrialization of fashion production and consumption has changed. The progress of the past along with the belief in economic growth as a societal narrative in which consuming more is better are converted into what could be called a narrative of "wrongdoings". The design strategist Ann Thorpe has framed the situation in her contribution on economic growth and sustainable fashion for the 2015 *Routledge Handbook of Sustainability and Fashion* (Fletcher & Tham):

> The pressure for growth is expressed in economic practices that increase consumption. Such practices include reducing costs, increasing sales, expanding markets, and attracting investment. Every aspect of our daily lives, including fashion, is under this pressure, which shapes the fashion sector in a number of problematic ways (Thorpe 2015: 64).

Environmental impacts are out of control due to industrialized methods of production, requirements for growing natural fibres,[5] and consumers' use, laundering and cleaning habits (Laitala *et al*. 2011). Efficient and cost-effective production methods were initially a response to the need to dress more and more people, as the world's growing population could afford to consume more clothing, but its development has exceeded its purpose, resulting in excess production capacity and the rising problem of textile waste. Increasing levels of fashion consumption did have positive effects, creating jobs in both developed and developing countries, but the constant downward pressure on textile prices has meant increasing numbers of unskilled, low-wage workers in the industry, and as such, both the historical reality and the present situation are complex, and any suggested solutions need to be able to navigate in such an environment.

Business model transitions for sustainable fashion suggest that the future lies mainly in eliminating the linear production system[6] in favour of a circular[7] one, rethinking value propositions and growth potentials that are not exclusively connected to the acceleration of production and economic growth. A Swedish research project, *MISTRA Future Fashion*,[8] emphasizes more specifically how the fashion industry needs to embrace multiple business models in order to meet the complexity of the issue of making fashion

production sustainable: for example, by understanding the purpose of a garment and its expected life span in order to imagine new ways of earning profits not only on the individual garment, but also on services that support its sustainable handling (MISTRA Future Fashion Manifesto 2015). This approach to fashion – one could call it an expansion of the fashion system – is already being explored by companies, and includes up-cycle approaches, such as resell-reuse initiatives (e.g. by the Swedish fashion brands Boomerang and Filippa K), take-back initiatives (e.g. by H&M), as well as efforts to reduce waste in production processes (Thorpe 2015).

The research focusing on design solutions to sustainability challenges is also challenging the fashion system by encouraging the professional fashion designer to intervene. The British design activist, researcher, and professor at the Centre for Sustainable Fashion at the University of the Arts in London, Kate Fletcher, is currently a dominant voice in this field through the research project *Local Wisdom*.[9] This project, initiated in 2009, is based on the idea that the current dominant fashion system is a power structure, and not the result of people's desire as consumers to dress in multiple inexpensive garments (Fletcher 2015:19). The fashion system is not an imperative, but rather a result of intentional and political choice, which means it can be changed. The project approaches the question of how to re-think the fashion system through what is called the "craft of use", using ethnographic wardrobe studies (Klepp & Bjerck 2012) to explore the qualitative potentials of incorporating the ways people use clothing. Their purpose is to inform fashion designers, as change agents, how to come up with new solutions for a so-called "new relational fashion system" that derives from human relationships, and from sharing rather than liberal market-driven logics of production, distribution and consumption (Fletcher 2015: 21). Fletcher states:

> As such, the "deep inner space" of the wardrobe offers up potential inspiration to a design process concerned with doing things better rather than doing more things with more materials. Such work contributes to the radical "post-growth" sustainability agenda that critiques the central importance of growth to notions of prosperity and attempts to define and describe economic activity by biophysical limits. This explores an alternative to the predominant economic model that works within planetary limits and looks for ways to add value, meet needs and provide employment without constantly expanding material throughput. Framed in this way the "craft of use" offers tentative starting points for understanding opportunities for how fashion in a post-growth economy may develop (http://www.localwisdom.info/craft-of-use).

The consumer advice approach also stresses the choices and changes available to users of fashion to adapt and apply. "Smarter living" seems to be the key phrase, understood in the sense of being better-informed and knowledge-based. The idea that consumers need to change their behaviour dominates the discourse and as such corresponds with the other research approaches. More specifically, however, the struggle is how to elicit changes in consumer behaviours: How to overcome culturally-constructed barriers of behaviour, everyday practices, routines and traditions in favour of a sustainability agenda (e.g. Laitala *et al*. 2015; Gill *et al*. 2016). Like the design solution approach, the consumer research approach shares

the fundamental idea that the cultural practices of using fashion could be different and are liable to change if knowledge, technology and cultural values are exchanged. Ethnographic studies may also be of importance here, mainly to understand the conservatism of people's actions (e.g. Woodward 2015), while historical studies of past practices in handling clothes are believed to provide inspiration for new user initiatives to maintain clothing longer than the fashion discourse might prescribe (e.g. Klepp 2000; Gordon & Hill 2015).

Back to the Future: Getting Fashion History Involved

In its acknowledgment of the difficulty of changing people's behaviours and culturally-defined habits, my present study is a continuation of and contribution to the consumer advice approach to the study of fashion and sustainability. The historical approach I suggest does differ from studies by Klepp (2000) and Gordon & Hill (2015), however, pursuing an interventionist objective rather than just providing inspiration, and also actively engaging in how to implement historical knowledge in the current debates and practices concerning fashion and sustainability.

This way of thinking is familiar to the discipline of history, in which it is not viewed as a discipline of the past, but as one that makes "use" of past experiences to understand contemporary interests and phenomena (see Jensen 2010; Nielsen 2010). But one could say it is the degree of use that distinguishes my approach, since I aim to intervene more directly in the present. My main interest, therefore, is not in how people lived in the past, or how they dealt with the ordinary practices of trying on clothing, getting dressed, maintaining their wardrobe, investing in their (fashionable) wardrobe, etc. per se, but rather in how to make connections and relationships between present challenges and complex past fashion practices that can be of value today. In other words, it is not just a matter of past facts or nostalgic longing for the "good old days", but a matter of how present concerns can contribute nuance to debates about how to change the fashion system and offer fashion consumers ways to change their habits. This is what I term the "back to the future" strategy: making the past literally available for use in a specific present-day setting.

This analytical manoeuvre is challenging. It raises questions, notably how to perform ethical sensitivity. One thing to guard against is the temptation to manipulate the past in the present. This can be tackled in different ways. In my present study, I try to address this issue through methodological transparency, more specifically through incorporating interviews with people born before 1940;[10] in the interviews, I evoke their memories of past fashion practices and frame these as voices in conversation with the historical source material of fashion. For the study, nine senior citizens were recruited from three nursing homes in southern Zealand, Denmark. Born between 1912 and 1937, one man and eight women from various social backgrounds in both urban and rural settings were interviewed about what they remembered about fashion from their upbringing: in what ways fashion was part of life, how fashionable clothing were

handled, and how these practices changed during their lifetime. The interviews provided keywords pointing to further insights about how fashion was enacted and narrated in the past, as well as a critical voice suggesting how to compare the historical knowledge with the informants' individual experiences. On this basis, the study widened to include readings of various fashion magazines, women's journals and trade journals from the early to the mid twentieth century, which the informants directly mentioned or which related to topics the informants addressed in the interviews.[11] I am aware that the study has a gender bias in its current form. This is more of a coincidence than a strategic choice, and is not meant to imply that men's fashion has nothing to contribute.

Another ethical sensitivity of importance is the choice of historical perspective. What period in time and geographical setting is addressed, and why? In my present study, the geographical setting is Denmark, as my interest in sustainable fashion stems from a study of Danish fashion (Melchior 2013). My period of focus, the first half of the 20th century, was selected for a number of reasons. It is the period that, it may be argued, comprised the formative decades of industrialized fashion production and mass fashion consumption, making it possible to compare and contrast gradually changing fashion practices over time. It is a historical period in which the majority of people had limited economic resources to spend on fashion, indicating that access to new fashion was still restricted, but nevertheless within reach of an increasing number of people. This stimulated alternative approaches to being fashionable that might be of value today, when the consumption of fashion is supposed to decrease due to the environmental crisis of limited resources. These represent just a few of the considerations when pursuing research within a timespan of one hundred years, as is the case of my current study.

In the following, the study of Danish fashion history in the first half of the twentieth century is presented through a selection of the insights the study has generated. This will be followed by a discussion of how this knowledge can make a contribution to the current debates and negotiations about improving the sustainability of fashion, as well as what opportunities and challenges such an approach places before the ethnological scholar when her ambition is to be actively engaged in transforming the human condition within the anthropocene.

Responses from Past Danish Fashion Practices

Through the interviews with the nine senior citizens, the study gained insights and perspectives on the past at different levels, as the informants helped to open the field of study. At a basic and descriptive level, the informants introduced a vocabulary of words naming practices, suggested key subjects relevant to understanding their past practices of fashion, and referenced a variety of magazines and journals they remembered in their homes that distributed fashion news, which is currently my main research material. On an interpretive level, they explained their understanding of these practices, and on an emotional level, revealed the feelings they associated with their memories. For certain informants, the conversation was very moving, causing them to shed tears

of gratitude for the work and effort their parents expended in order to provide basic clothing needs and to be able to follow the fashion of the day, particularly when compared to the lives and situations of the informants' own children and grandchildren. Although this was awkward in the moment of the interview, these emotional situations can be perceived as caring bodily knowledge (Scheer 2012). They indicated an acknowledgement of the changes that have occurred over time and their significance: the relationship between past and present. Furthermore, these emotions expressed the positive progress in access to fashion and the possibility of choosing what to wear as part and parcel of the grand narrative of capitalist societies – at least, until this success began to be questioned in view of climate change and environmental crisis. And despite their fond memories, none of the informants wished to revisit the past or trade away the progress they have experienced. The interviews produced no romantic views of the past; the memories evoked nostalgia in relation to the people remembered, but not their doings. This is not a surprising observation, but it does have an impact on how we treat the historical knowledge with respect to the emotions of the informants. The positive narrative of their lives, passing as it did through what is commonly perceived to be the technological progress of modern society, and being part of achieving its results, has to be taken into consideration; at the same time, the problems identified in the debate about fashion and sustainability point to what could be called the "wrongdoings" that in retrospect characterized the general increase in consumer power in Western societies after the Second World War. This is a dilemma, or at least a challenge, of the complex nature of the subject matter: overly-romantic views of potential solutions – such as suggestions about returning to some vision of the "good old days" of slow fashion (i.e. the slow turnover time of fashion production and the longer use value of individual garments) – can too easily fall into the dichotomies of slow/past versus fast/present.

According to the informants, who were raised in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, fashion was something they knew and cared about. The purchase of new clothes was a rare treat for them, but the re-styling of their clothes – particularly what they termed "school dress" and "Sunday dress" – was more common than buying new clothes, and outfits were passed down from older siblings or family members, sometimes in connection with special occasions. In their towns, new fashionable styles were introduced via the local shop, visits from the local seamstress (if their mothers were not keen on sewing) or in the journals their parents subscribed to or exchanged with neighbours. The weekly women's journal *Hus og Hjem*[12] was the most popular fashion media among the informants' parents. Every week, new dress patterns were distributed with the journal, with corresponding descriptions of the latest fashionable styles. The seasonal launches of women's fashions in Paris or menswear in London were also reported. An article from the end of June 1913 explains the power of fashion both in Paris and in the Danish countryside, corroborating the informants' memories and highlighting the view – as true today as it was then – that fashion is present in everyday life:

> The power of fashion is great – we simply act more or less quickly to follow it! Those in the countryside probably resist new fashions the longest, but even there … you need only have an eye for how things change! Whether you like it or not is a matter of taste – we are only stating the facts. Today we present two fashion plates of very different character from the races [Longchamp outside Paris]. Whether one likes them is up to each reader to decide (*Hus og Hjem*, vol. 18, issue 27, 1913, p. 631).[13]

Fashion journals of the same period, distributed between producers and retailers in rural towns, also reflected the speed of the fashion market with their monthly fashion patterns (for example, in the journal *Modejournal Chic,* patterns were listed by number and name of the month). This commercial driver of fashion, therefore, appears to have been similar to the present day, and is distinguished mainly by the production and distribution technologies available at the time: the narratives of journals and magazines, bearing fresh patterns for individual designs, circulated fashion at high speed. This would gradually change after the Second World War, as industrially-produced ready-to-wear would make fashion even more easily accessible and diminish the demand both for fashion patterns and for the skills of cutting and sewing oneself. Based on this knowledge, it is possible to argue that fashion had as significant a presence in people's lives in the first half of the twentieth century as today, but that this presence significantly differed in its context. The technology was different, the economy was different, and so were the social and cultural norms and values guiding how to handle and live with fashion – the clothes, their use and their maintenance.

The informants emphasize in interviews how they learned the importance of looking respectable and dressing properly: always wear clean clothes, and for manual work or at home, only old clothes (either mended or with holes). The magazines and journals consulted for this study offered tips and tricks regarding how to care for one's clothes in order to have the right look and be fashionable. Orderliness was a key word in this context, a value that implied the practice of a certain self-control as well as social control. The discipline of order had economic and social purposes of respectability, as well as the purpose of maintaining good health through cleanliness, as the early twentieth century Danish etiquette expert and writer Emma Gad (1852–1921) would have it. A sense of order required the competence to strike the right balance in being fashionable, but not a fashion victim – in the sense of "overdoing it" – and demonstrating being out of control:

> However strong one's craving for change, one basic rule must be followed by those who want to dress at less expense: never buy cheap accessories, only one truly beautiful thing. Stick with just a few items, in not overly-strong colours, which match each other so well that dress, hat, parasol and gloves always come together in a harmonious and pleasing whole. […] Everyone must acknowledge that a sense of order and good taste, as much as luxury and elegance, make a woman's dress what it should be – the frame around her beauty and accentuation of her personality (Emma Gad 1903: *Vort hjem*, p. 125).[14]

The ideal fashionable woman, in other words, would be the orderly, self-respecting woman. As today, the call to control fashion through conscious practices was present in the past. The high cost of clothes before the advent of mass production stimulated such practices. The in-

formants emphasize in the interviews how being fashionable was an economic investment that regulated how frivolous one could be. And this frugal attitude towards the handling of clothes was shared and encouraged through both fashion magazines and women's journals. Tips and tricks for keeping one's clothes clean and appropriate provided recurring content in these publications. The character of these encouragements served to remind the user how ordinary household equipment and ingredients could easily do the cleaning job.

For example, in a 1912 issue of the women's journal *Hus og Hjem*, an article under the heading "Good Advice" offered guidance in cleaning chocolate stains: "Chocolate spots on linen and tablecloths can be removed by immediately washing them off in milk and then rinsing them in cold water"[15] (*Hus og Hjem*, vol. 17, issue 2, 1912, p. 31). Later the same year, under the heading "Practical Tricks", the reader could learn how to clean certain kinds of outerwear:

> If you need to clean the collars of men's coats, it is so much easier to brush the dirty places with an old nailbrush or toothbrush instead of rubbing it with a damp cloth. […] White woollen dresses and felt hats are easy to clean, when they are not too dirty, with old white bread (*Hus og Hjem*, vol. 17, issue 30, 1912, p. 478).[16]

This kind of advice persisted, indicating the continuity of the social and cultural value of orderliness The following example is from a 1943 issue of the fashion magazine *Madame*, under the heading "Little bright ideas":

> If you are at a dinner party and your dress gets stained, you naturally know that most stains are best removed quickly….But once the stain is removed, you are left with a wet spot on your dress that catches everyone's eye. Do you know what you can do? Take an electric bulb that has been switched on long enough to be hot. Iron the wet spot on your dress until it is dry and flat again (*Madame*, September 1943, vol. 1, p. 21 "Smaa lyse ideer").[17]

These suggestions may make one laugh today, but my point in highlighting them is to demonstrate the level of detail at which values and norms are practised, and that they were perceived to be part of the practice of being fashionable in the past. In the light of current concerns about the sustainability of fashion, however, these competences concerning the usage of fashion seem relevant, albeit with a different goal. Today we cultivate them in order to diminish the human impact on the planet Earth. Then, the goal was to be respectable and to restrict one's spending in favour of other, more important areas, for the development of a more prosperous society.

The light bulb example calls upon the idea of orderliness to establish disciplinary practices for sustainable solutions. Actions are required that both take control and enlighten with state-of-the-art knowledge of how to be sustainable. Therefore, the example above has the most impact when viewed as a practice: a way of thinking and approaching problem solving. It illustrates a way of thinking via accessible practices that utilize energy resources and local means that are available in the specific situation and the immediate surroundings, and do not require further consumption of resources. On this basis, it could be argued that it is the way of thinking and the skill of acting driven by the value of orderliness that is essential to transfer in time.

How Fashion Histories Are Sustainable – a Discussion and Some Concerns

The informants' introduction to past Danish fashion practices, as I have intended to demonstrate in the previous section, has led to a recognition of how small but substantial details of various character can provide insightful knowledge, as well as to the suggestion that the historical study of fashion might have the potential to bring about behavioural changes in fashion consumption, making it more sustainable.

In ethnological studies, Löfgren and Ehn have shown how the past can be a cultural analytical technique to raise awareness of the changes that have occurred when studying everyday practices, helping make ordinary practices visible and noteworthy (Löfgren & Ehn 2006). The historian Frank Trentmann declares in his recent book *Empire of Things: How We Became a World of Consumers, from the Fifteenth Century to the Twenty-First* (2016) that history offers a perspective on change over time as well as a new perspective when thinking about current problems. Trentmann further states that he is concerned with the consumer society that has emerged, clearly placing the world in a serious crisis: "One lesson from history is that we are wrong to take our current standards as given or to assume that our lifestyle will and ought to continue into the future, just more efficiently serviced" (Trentmann 2016:689). Together, these points of view not only affirm the importance of a historical perspective on contemporary concerns, but also its dual purpose. Firstly, to put both the past and the present in perspective; and secondly, to point to the challenges presented by present concerns. I now argue that a third potential purpose exists with respect to historical studies, which is to make history part of future solutions. If it is possible to handle the historical sources in due course and with the above intentions, then the answer to the question I raised initially in this article – Are fashion histories sustainable? – is yes.

By highlighting three themes from my current and ongoing study of Danish fashion history in the first half of the twentieth century – the theme of the relationship between past and present, the practice of fashion, and the value of orderliness – it has been shown that the history of fashion can be sustainable. But the history of fashion will need to be written in a way that incorporates the interpretive layer of how fashion histories can be sustainable for the future of fashion, while going into the details that historical sources can provide. It could be argued with some justification that this implies a distinctly functionalist approach to this work, making the point I raised about ethical sensitivity all the more essential to legitimizing this usage of history in any future interventions suggested by the interventionist scholar.

The question remains as to how to conduct the interventions that I argue for. The scholarly tradition of ethnologists is to produce – through books, journals and museum collections – an archive of knowledge in the service of the public; that is, the choice of how to use this knowledge belongs to the public. Ethnologists also have a tradition of interacting with the public through museum exhibitions, public lectures and teaching (Otto 2004). Through these practices, knowledge is transmitted. What I shall suggest is the further development and expansion of these dissemination techniques to pro-

mote dialogue with public audiences by strengthening the ethnologist's collaborative network. So I must open my historical fashion studies to interdisciplinary collaborations; take part in the negotiation of how the knowledge generated can be made to work in such settings; and be prepared and motivated to enter a continuous dialogue between present concerns raised by everyday practices and the ongoing scientific development of the best environmental solutions. The knowledge production I engage in becomes an ongoing process and commitment. The traditional communication technologies of ethnology mentioned above will have to reflect this dialogue and engaged approach.

Collaborations with schoolteachers seem one obvious path, in order to show young citizens how to learn from the past, with its cultural value of orderliness, widespread economic scarcity and limited access to new resources – i.e. to new fashionable dress. From this knowledge, they can be led to actions that today can stimulate the value of an orderly (meaning disciplined and in control) approach to the environment and an acceptance of the fact that the Earth's population growth will limit the material affluence of people and their ability to consume ever more as economic growth expands. In this context fashion history can provide insights into past ways of being fashionable that can be learned and given new meaning in the anthropocene era.

The contribution, therefore, becomes part of the post-growth economy incentive that characterizes current fashion and sustainability research with respect to both the design solution approach and the consumer advice approach. Samuel Alexander, Research Fellow at the Melbourne Sustainable Society Institute, argued in 2016 that what people might strive for individually as "the good life" needs to be reimagined and regulated by common norms and values that can support the Earth as a sustainable place to live. Alexander says:

> There is no conceivable way that seven billion people, let alone eleven billion [by the end of the twenty-first century], could live sustainably on Earth in material affluence. Globalising affluence, quite simply, would be ecologically catastrophic. Accordingly, members of the global consumer class need to reimagine the good life beyond consumer culture and develop new conceptions of human flourishing based on sufficiency, moderation, frugality and non-materialistic sources of meaning and satisfaction. From a consumption perspective, this might mean driving less and cycling more; growing local organic food; putting on woollen clothing rather than always turning on the heater; taking shorter showers; flying less or not at all: eating less meat; making and mending rather than buying new; sharing more; and in countless other ways rethinking lifestyles in ways that radically reduce energy and resource burdens. In sum, a post-growth economy would not aim to provide affluence for all but modest sufficiency for all (Alexander 2016:9).

Fashion history has the potential to be sustainable as long as the knowledge of the past can take part in teaching the present alternative approaches to "the good life", where fashion is not dismissed but practiced in different (environmentally friendly) ways acknowledging the role fashion plays in the act of being human.

Towards a Conclusion

Acknowledging the human turn made me reflect and search for ways to make an impact on my field of study, Danish fashion, by calling attention to its history and development from the early twentieth century to the present day. Crucially, the ac-

ceptance of the human turn entails an ethical ambition with respect to one's research results. They need to make an impact, to engage and intervene in the world that surrounds the researcher.

The ambition to make fashion sustainable is currently challenging the fashion industry and the consumption of fashion, as has been shown in this article. Fashion per se resists rationality, in order to be continuously producing new, irrational dreams about looks and styles that eventually stimulate the production of new clothes for the market, utilizing enormous resources of energy and natural resources. I have tried to insist, however, that fashion history can have sustainable potential, and that it is part of my ambition as researcher – an ethnologist with historical interests – to actively take part in improving the environmental situation in which we find ourselves due to population growth, economic growth and most importantly, consumption growth.

If one accepts the "back to the future" research strategy, it may be possible through explicit engagement and participation for a researcher to be a "change agent", activating historical sources to teach the present how to change habits of living. This will require establishing relationships between past and present; sharing knowledge; entering into dialogues of knowledge with the archival source material and with informants who can share past experiences; and initiating dialogues in the present so as to actively participate in making fashion history sustainable. Clearly the acknowledgement of living in the anthropocene raises the awareness of the purpose of one's study, whether as an ethnologist or other professional, as well as of the methods one must apply. How we handle the purpose of our studies I believe we must continuously debate as well as the implications of the anthropocene as part of the social engagement we perform as academic scholars.

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Notes

1 See http://nordicfashionassociation.com/whatnice (visited 25 April 2017).
2 In April 2015, the Nordic Council of Ministers published the report and political declaration *Well Dressed in a Clean Environment: Nordic Action Plan for Sustainable Fashion and Textiles*.
3 Fast fashion describes the phenomenon in the fashion industry in which production processes are accelerated in order to get new trends to the market as quickly and cheaply as possible (Reinach 2005).
4 http://www.kering.com/en/magazine/fashion-compassion (1 October 2016).
5 Because cotton makes up approx. 90 per cent of all textile material, its increase in clothing production is critical, as cotton cultivation requires heavy use of water, pesticides and fertilizers (MISTRA Future Fashion Manifesto 2015:5).
6 The fashion industry currently operates a linear production model, based on a "take-make-waste" rationale, in which discarded textile items end up incinerated or in global landfills (Ellen MacArthur Foundation 2013).
7 This describes the "cradle to cradle" principle, in which all discarded clothing becomes raw material for new production. See Braungart & McDonough 2009.
8 The research project MISTRA was initiated in 2011 and consists of two phases. The first (2011–2015) focused on clarifying sustainable fashion, business models, production practices and consumer behaviour. The second (2016–2019) will focus on what was

learned during the first phase and how these lessons can be applied in order to close loops in the fashion industry. The project was sponsored by the Swedish Foundation for Strategic Environmental Research (MISTRA Future Fashion Manifesto).

9 See www.localwisdom.info (1 October 2016).

10 The interviews were conducted between March and May 2015, and included the following informants: Rosa, born 1912; Agnes, born 1918; Karen Sofie, born 1914; Sølvig, born 1932; Bodil, born 1928; Elsie, born 1932; Esther, born 1931; Lilly, born 1937; and Poul, born 1923.

11 So far, the study has included the following sources: *Modejournal* (1902–1909, 1910–1913), *Gera Modejournal* (1902–1907), *Modejournal Chic* (1902–1909), *Hus og Hjem* (1912–1938), *Hver 8. dag*, *Madame* (1943–1944), *Vore Damer* (1912–1925), *Skandinavisk Skrædderfagblad og modejournal* (1925–1927), *Skandinavisk Skrædder-Tidende* (1906–1907) and press clippings from the department store Magasin du Nord's archive (1920–1930).

12 *Hus og Hjem* was a weekly women's journal, partly financed by advertising, that launched in 1897 as *Husmoderens Blad*. In 1911 it changed its name to *Hus og Hjem*. The main content of the journal concerned family life, housekeeping and fashion, as well as sensational national or international news.

13 "Modens Magt er stor – vi er bare mere eller mindre hurtige i Vendingen! Længst holder man sig vel nok standhaftig paa Landet, men ogsaa der … ja, man behøver kun at lægge Mærke til Udviklingen! Om man synes om den eller ej, bliver en Smagssag – vi konstaterer kun Faktum. Vi præsenterer i Dag to Modebilleder af ret forskellig Karakter fra de nævnte Væddeløb [Longchamp uden for Paris]. Hvorledes man synes om dem, bliver hver enkelt Læsers Sag at afgøre."

14 "Men hvor stærk Hang man end har til Afveksling, en Ting bør dog fastslaas som Regel for dem, der ville klæde sig billigt: de maa aldrig købe tarvelig Pynt, men kun en enkelt virkelig smuk Ting, og de maa holde sig til nogle faa, ikke for stærke Farver, der staar saa godt til hverandre, at Dragt, Hat, Parasol og Handsker altid kunne glide sammen til et harmonisk og behageligt hele. […] Det maa staa enhver klart, at det er Ordenssans og god Smag, fuldt saa meget som Luksus og Elegance, der gør en Dames Paaklædning til det, den skal være – Rammen om hendes Skønhed og Fremhævelse af hendes personlighed."

15 "Chokaldepletter paa Linned og Dækketøj fjernes ved straks at vaske dem af i Mælk og derefter skylle dem i koldt vand."

16 "Skal man rense Kraverne paa Herrefrakker, gaar det saa meget lettere, hvis man børster de smudsige Steder med en gammel Negle- eller Tandbørste i stedet for at gnide med en Klud, oder ofte maa fugtes. (…) Hvide Uldkjoler og Flithatte renses let, naar de ikke er altfor smudsige, med gammelt Franskbrød."

17 "Hvis De er til Selskab og faar en Plet paa Kjolen, saa ved De naturligvis, at de fleste Pletter har bedst af at blive fjernet hurtigt. (Nu taler vi altsaa slet ikke om vanskelige Pletter og sarte Stoffer, som altid er klogt at lade et Renseri tage sig af). Men naar saa Pletten er fjernet – saa sidder den vaade Plamage der paa Kjolen og skinner alle Mennesker i Øjenene. Ved De, hvad De kan gøre? Tag en elektrisk Pære, der har været tændt saa længe, at den er blevet varm, og stryg med den Pletten tør og glat igen."

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Expectations and Experiences of Cultural Activity among Professionals in Care of Older People

By Kristina Gustafsson

In 2011, the Swedish Arts Council received a directive from the Swedish government to support the area of "culture and older people". According to the national cultural policy objectives, the Swedish Arts Council should work to create opportunities for everybody to experience or take part in cultural activities, to participate in educational programmes, to develop their creative abilities and to make culture accessible (Swedish Arts Council 2015). In order to achieve these objectives, some groups may need subsidiaries and/or assistance. The directive recognizes that, since older people often have health problems or lead socially isolated lives, they have difficulties attending or taking part in cultural activities. Furthermore, by emphasizing the medical and therapeutic impact on health and wellbeing, older people are legitimated as a special target group (Kulturdepartementet 2013). This emphasis on the impact of culture on older people's health led to new motives for cultural policies. Culture is no longer primarily described as a right, but as a tool for health and wellbeing among older people (cf. Arts Council England 2007; Vändpunkt 2014).

In line with the directive the Swedish Arts Council distributed grants of more than SEK 70 million to municipalities, authorities, associations and organizations all around Sweden in order to support cultural activities as well as accessibility to and participation in "culture for older people". This article is based on an ethnographic study conducted in one region in southern Sweden and a project about cultural activity in care of older people in 2013–2014.

The aim is to describe and analyse the expectations and experiences of cultural activities among local politicians and professionals working with care of older people. What does culture mean in the setting of care of older people? Why, when and how would it procure and use cultural activities? What opportunities and shortcomings are at stake? Two prominent ideas will be discussed, both embedded in contemporary care of older people in Sweden and strongly represented among the politicians and professionals participating in this study. One idea is about self-determination and the other is about cultural relativism. Both ideas might be obstacles for cultural activities.

Background

From the early 1990s the Educational Association of the region where the study upon which this article is based was commissioned to deliver culture to the public health care. Organizations working with the care of older people were its main customers. Grants from the Swedish Arts Council and the Regional Executive Committee of the studied region in 2012–2014 provided the Educational Association with a possibility to further develop this assignment. They started to produce a series of cultural activities for older people and caregivers, called "Culture for Life". One painter, two musicians (one opera conductor and one troubadour) and one novelist worked with this project, as well as one local museum providing material from the museum's collections and small exhibitions about "weddings" and "coffee breaks" mirroring past times.

The plan was that "Culture for Life" should continue over time, with cultural

workers and participants meeting regularly at least three times. On the one hand, the participants were older people coming to the day care centres, social clubs or those living in care homes and, on the other hand, the managers and the staff. "Culture for Life" could be described as a cultural activity or intervention, with the objective of changing the situation for older people when it came to health and wellbeing. It was also a training programme for professionals working in care of older people. The objective was also to entertain and to develop the participants' artistic skills and knowledge of culture in terms of painting, singing and writing. This was the idea of the Educational Association and the intervention "Culture for Life", but what was the ambition of the care of older people sector? Why, when and how would it procure and use these cultural interventions? In order to find out about these questions, the Educational Association initiated research on the topic. It was my commission to conduct the study in 2013 and 2014.

Concepts: Culture and Older People

The main definition of culture in this article refers to aesthetical culture, performed and represented at places such as museums, art galleries, theatres, libraries, concert halls. Aesthetical culture can be consumed passively or people can participate in cultural activities. Aesthetical culture can also be valued (Öhlander 2005). The homepage of the Swedish Arts Council says: "The Swedish Arts Council seeks to provide all inhabitants in Sweden with access to a broad spectrum of *high quality culture*" (Kulturradet.se). The focus on older people and cultural activity is consistent with this. Through grants and other support, the Swedish Arts Council strives to achieve the cultural policy objectives and, at the same time, it promotes the development and distribution of *high-quality* culture. The activities of "Culture for Life" followed the same ambition, and the Regional Executive Committee's website guarantees that they supply *excellent culture* to the inhabitants of the region. From the perspective of the Swedish Arts Council, the Regional Executive Committees and the Educational Association, there was a definition of what culture is and what it is supposed to offer in terms of excellence and high quality. This does not mean that high-quality culture is a fixed value; it means that culture is not just anything. The term "older people" refers to people who have reached the age of 65. Care of older people will be defined in the section about material and method.

Research Field

This study relates to several research fields: ethnological studies of ageing and older people, ethnological studies of the use of the concept of culture in various settings, and also the vast field of health and culture, medical humanities and gerontology. To start with the latter, the Swedish national cultural policy described in the introduction above is not unique. Several European and Nordic countries have introduced similar policies, intersecting cultural and public health policies (Vändpunkt 2014). Besides the idea that cultural activity is a fundamental part of humanity and its rights, these policies are based on the argument that culture and the arts in all their forms have proven to exert positive effects on people's health and wellbeing (Hartley and Payne 2008;

Arts Council England 2007; Vändpunkt 2014).

The arguments that promote good health effects are supported by research that seeks evidence-based results (mainly quantitative effect studies). The arguments are also supported by the results shown from cultural activities within diverse areas of health and social services and target groups, spanning from children to old people and from people suffering from trauma to people experiencing depression and/or social exclusion (Cameron *et al*. 2013; Clift 2014; Hartley & Payne 2008; Skingley *et al*. 2015; Teater & Baldwin 2014). A major part of this research, though, is produced within disciplines related to older and ageing people, i.e. gerontology, geriatrics and psychotherapy (Skingley *et al*. 2015).

Medical research on how the arts affect our health is carried out in Scandinavia as well, often cooperating with other disciplines, such as art history, literature or music, with special focus on therapy (Grape *et al*. 2003; Ruud 2002; Theorell 2009). Internationally, research on the arts and therapy could be the most well-established research area when it comes to evidence-based studies of the relation between cultural activity and health (cf. Cochrane Community).

In the field of humanities, culture and the arts in health and social care settings are often discussed in terms of liberal arts, and the social advantages of studying the arts, history and philosophy in professional education are promoted (Nussbaum 1990, 1997). The idea is that consumption of/participation in cultural activities will help people to develop emotions, empathy and fundamental values, such as respect, tolerance and modesty; e.g. students given the possibility to be introduced to other people, places and living situations of different times and societies (cf. Clarke *et al*. 2015; Turner 2013).

Within the area of humanities, particularly in the disciplines close to applied research, such as museology, there is a current discussion and freshly instigated research about how cultural institutions and artists might support other public services, such as social services and care of older people (Jackson 2011). In addition, there are also critical voices within the humanities, not against the effects of performing or consuming cultural activities, but against the use of culture as if it were without any meaning in itself (Belfiore 2002, 2006; Belfiore & Bennett 2010).

In Sweden, at Gothenburg University a research centre called Culture and Health operates in a multi-disciplinary setting with the aim of establishing culture and health as a new and specific research area in Sweden (Sigurdson 2014). Internationally there are several journals specialized in this area, e.g. *Journal of Applied Arts and Health* and *Arts & Health*, both started after 2009. This new research field of culture and health relates to an already established field of medical humanities. As described by Evans (2007) medical humanities are occupied with three main issues, which all can be identified in the research overview above: 1. *The therapeutic perspective* and the use of arts, music therapy and bibliotherapy in medical treatments of patients. 2. *The pedagogical perspective* where courses in humanities, literature and art science are used in education in medicine. 3. *The theoretical per-*

spective that connects medicine and healthcare to history, society and human agency.

Among ethnologists in Sweden there are several examples of studies about older people and ageing (Alftberg 2012; Hyltén-Cavallius 2005b; Jönsson & Lundin 2007; Nilsson 2011). There are also ethnological studies of the use of culture in health and care of older people (Drakos 2015; Hyltén-Cavallius 2005a; Lundgren 2005). Among those Drakos (2015) has studied the meaning and impact of culture in therapeutic treatment of patients with long-term pain. Hyltén-Cavallius has studied the use of music and choirs in care settings for older people. He has critically analysed the normative idea of older people as "one generation with similar needs, tastes and wishes" and therefore the same need of culture, e.g. accordion music and "*folkhemsromantik*" (cf. Hyltén-Cavallius 2005b; 2007).

To conclude, research in all sorts of areas within medicine, social sciences and humanities provides culture with a wide range of value-creating characteristics, spanning from the ethical impact on professionals to the medical effects on the health and wellbeing of their clients, to the critical humanistic approach concerning the norms about older people and the problem of considering culture as support and tool for other areas rather than an end in itself. In this study I am more concerned with issues about the use and possible implementation of cultural activities in care of older people in a wider context than issues about the impact on health or wellbeing of the specific cultural interventions of "Culture for Life" (cf. Ekström & Sörlin 2012). Hence the contribution of this study is chiefly the ethnological and culture-critical perspectives in the growing area of culture and health and medical humanities as described above.

Material, Method and Theory

The study was conducted in six municipalities in one region in southern Sweden. The main part of the collected material consists of 23 in-depth interviews. I started out by interviewing six local politicians from the social services board (four in ruling position and two in opposition). From these interviews I obtained an overview of the complex social area of care of older people. Care of older people covers everything from open social clubs for older people to specialized rehabilitation teams for dementia. I organized the different forms of care for older people and care of older people in two categories: *preventive services* open to all over the age of 65 and *care services* possible only after investigation of needs, conducted and decided by social work officers. Examples of preventive services are open social clubs and "meeting areas" open to all. Care services are home care service or living in special care homes.

I interviewed nine middle managers within public and private care services, four of them middle managers of preventive services (all public), and five of them managers of care services. I also interviewed three enrolled nurses working in care services and four social workers working with preventive services. To get to know the care of older people from a more general perspective I interviewed two managers responsible for the development of the social care in their respective municipality. Finally, three cultural

workers from "Culture for Life" were also interviewed. The respondents represented a wide range of professional backgrounds, working/having worked with care of older people and older people in different areas of the region and in municipalities with various economic and social situations. All respondents were aged between 40 and 60, all native Swedes and all except one had long experience in working with older people. The majority had 20–30 years of experience of social work and care of older people in particular. Besides the cultural workers, only one of the politicians had a completely different career.

The interviews were open-ended and the respondents were asked in advance to reflect upon two main questions. They were first asked to describe their work and place of work and secondly to consider cultural activity in care of older people, when, why, how, by whom and for whom? They were also asked to relate their answers to concrete experiences in order to exemplify their sometimes quite abstract ideas about cultural activity in their work. The interviews took place at the respondents' workplaces. They lasted between 1.5 and 2.5 hours and all interviews were recorded and transcribed after informed consent.

Since the respondents had such a long experience, the interviews also covered a long period of working in care of older people, enabling comparisons in time and space between past and present (Riessman 2003). It is trivial to say that each interview is unique. They are, but there are also patterns and ideas, and experiences even, that apply to all of them (although not shared) since they operate in the same area in the same time and are influenced by the same discourses in media debates, policies, regulating documents and legislation about older people, care of older people, ageing etc. This becomes correspondingly obvious when comparing with other qualitative studies with professionals working in care of older people, conducted in other parts of Sweden (Elmersjö 2010; Åhlfeldt & Engelheart 2009). In order to understand the setting, observations were conducted, with the purpose of attending cultural activities and learning the daily routines within care services and preventive services. Observations were documented with field notes later turned into "thick descriptions" (Geertz 1973). Several other sources of written material, such as the municipality's website, state reports, regulating documents from the National Board of Health and Welfare and the Social Care Act were important complementary material.

The study was not a case for vetting under the Ethical Review Act (SFS 2003: 460). Ethical principals have been followed, together with informed consent. Yet, there are constantly ethical considerations to take into account. Although the topics of the interviews were quite harmless, we sometimes touched on delicate issues, and personal stories were told. It was evident that the terminology within the care service was a sensitive issue. One respondent contacted me the day after our interview, wanting to correct her use of the term "care recipient" to "customer" when referring to an old person.

Another ethical consideration is that confidentiality is always complex in evaluation studies or, as in this case, commissioned research, since the "field" (the

six municipalities of the region) is difficult to fully anonymize. All quotations used in the text have therefore been detached from place and context, while professional titles remain.

The collected material – interviews, observations, written documents and web pages – were analysed thematically using cultural analysis with the aim of understanding the context and fundamental values of care of older people. Discrepancies, perspectives on human beings, ambitions and values with significance for the use of cultural activities were identified and categorized under two main themes: individualism and collectivism; private and public (cf. Ehn & Löfgren 2012). These themes seemed fruitful to investigate in order to understand why, how, when, by whom and for whom cultural activities were considered useful in care of older people. In analysing the themes, two fundamental values seemed to dominate in the care of older people, the idea of self-determination and the idea of cultural relativism. In addition to the themes I also have further developed these two values in terms of a theoretical framework of the concept "the liberated self" and cultural relativism. Themes and theory will be described and used in the following sections where the results and analysis will be presented.

Older People or Customers: Individuals Bunched Together as One Collective

In the collected material, several prominent features came up as the respondents described their work and reflected on cultural activity in care of older people. They often ended up explaining different kinds of dilemmas that structured their daily work and affected cultural activities. One dilemma could be labelled as collectivism versus individualism.

The concern of the nurse mentioned above, who wanted to change the word "care recipient" to "customer", could be understood through the dichotomy between collectivism and individualism. Several of the interviewed persons had a long experience of working with care of older people, also among the politicians, and one of the objectives mentioned for staying was the "mission" to change how old people are perceived and treated. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, when several of the respondents entered the labour market, they were upset by how the care of older people was organized. "I thought older people were badly treated. They all had to take a shower on the same day, and they all had to take care of their stomach on the same day" (local politician). Another politician told about how those aged between 65 and 100 often were thought of and lumped together more or less as a "bundle" and, therefore, supposedly were interested in the same kind of lifestyle and activities, e.g. "listening to the accordion and playing Bingo" (cf. Hyltén-Cavallius 2005b).

A third politician described how she had introduced a new vocabulary in her municipality in order to change the perspectives on the older people. Instead of "service user" or "care recipient" she introduced "customer". Her considerations pinpoint the problem of talking about and handling older people as a collective group. This also pinpoints the efforts being made to change attitudes and find a vocabulary that will help politicians, man-

agers and staff to recognize each person as an individual.

The same politician explained that the term "customer" was introduced to emphasize the relation between the old person and those working with the care of older people. Being a customer means being an active person with individual expectations, demands and rights that the professionals have to listen to. Otherwise they will have no customers. Several of the interviewed reviewed the terms and how older persons were perceived. They thought that the project of individualizing older people through the customer approach, as well as the concomitant right of self-determination, were important ideas to safeguard.

Private Living in Public Spaces

Concerns of this kind had consequences for the organization of the work, especially within the care services. The preventive services were public, open and free to visit. The individual could reject participation and thus have an impact on the activities that were offered. The whole idea of preventive services was based on collectivism, meaning coming together, taking part in collective arrangements and doing things together (Teater & Baldwin 2014; Roe *et al*. 2014; Skingley *et al*. 2015). When it comes to the care services and the care homes in particular, the situation was somewhat different. The individual is considered able to choose a care home (public and private alternatives with special profiles) but once the choice is made, this individual is placed together with "seven other persons, and these you cannot choose" (public care home middle manager).

Both home care services and care homes struggle with the staff schedules, with the dichotomy between collectivism and individualism included in the struggle. One middle manager of a private care home explains:

> Our passion is freedom and self-determination, i.e. each person should be able to choose their daily life. This is what is the most important, to help them keep their freedom. As far as possible. It would not be possible [to work] if everyone wanted to get up and have breakfast at 8 a.m. We can't have 200 staff coming in the morning. But we do as far as possible give them the opportunity to choose.

The quotation leads to the other dilemma, public versus private. In the quotation it becomes obvious that the care home is a private home where older people live and that they should have the possibility to continue the life they had before moving in, for example to have breakfast in bed at 8 a.m. At the same time, it is a public workplace for the staff. The workday is planned and scheduled in accordance with labour market regulations. Several of the interviewees discussed the dilemma of working in someone else's private home, particularly those working in care homes, where the care and daily routines for older people often were collectively arranged, for example, with breakfast, lunch and dinner served in common rooms. Furthermore, in these settings, offering activities also became complicated. Most activities were offered collectively in special weekly programmes and ranged from playing bingo or boules, gardening, vegetable growing, drama, yoga, crafts and art, a pub quiz, fitness classes, and so on.

To sum up, the respondent above revealed how the risk of interpreting care homes and care of older people as public

settings went hand in hand with the perception of older people being a collective group (handled in public institutions). The dilemma was that, instead of dealing with individuals with respect for their freedom and right to self-determination and to live in private spheres, staff still treated older people as in the old days, i.e. as a (collective) "bundle". This dilemma is relevant to how cultural activity is perceived and used in the daily work.

Expectations and Experiences of Cultural Activity in Care of Older People

The interviews with the local politicians clearly showed that the greatest challenge for all six municipalities was how to handle the growing ageing population (cf. Teater & Baldwin 2014; Skingley *et al.* 2015). One politician explained:

> To manage the future care of older people, we need more preventive work and services. Then people will stay healthy much longer. Otherwise the care of older people cannot be financed. Principally, our care of older people policy aims at keeping people healthy longer and dying sound (local politician).

Cultural activities definitely seemed an interesting alternative when organizing preventive work. Local politicians also mentioned the cultural policy objectives and the value of inclusion of older people as well as the issue of right to cultural activity, but most prominent was the idea of promoting health and wellbeing among older people.

To the managers of care of older people, culture had many meanings based on both experiences and expectations. The majority of these managers talked about the working situation of their staff and described stressful, almost impossible, working situations (cf. Dickens 2010; Teater & Baldwin 2014). The care of older people in Sweden follows strict regulations and routines and everything has to be documented. One manager emphasized that the planning of cultural activities is an open issue, since these do not follow the daily routines or schedules. Hence, to work with a cultural activity could be a moment of freedom and an inspiring break from daily routines. In addition, a middle manager at a public care home explained:

> [To the staff] this means doing something meaningful and important – in short to do good. You know, it is fundamental in this work, to do good. To do good gives a feeling of satisfaction, of completing something instead of [as it usually is in the daily work] being under pressure for not having the time.

Anyhow, several managers have noticed reluctance among their staff to take part in activities such as "Culture for Life". One explanation was the barrier of prestige. As described by Hartley, many people have strong memories of school teachers telling them that they are not good enough when it comes to drawing a painting or singing (Hartley and Payne 2008:48). This was as true for the older people as for the younger staff. Another reason was characterized as "the good housewife norm". Cleaning up, cooking, taking care of the laundry is considered as real work, while drawing, singing and drinking coffee is "doing nothing". One manager reflected on the fact that, often, the staff did not realize that all these activities were important to create a relation to the old person, as well as for changing attitudes. In the act of drawing together under the supervision of an artist, a more equal relationship might develop

between staff and the old person than in another situation. One nurse sums up the meaning of cultural activity within her work (in care of older people).

> Of course it is valuable working with cultural activity. It is great fun for me. I also think it is of significance to the care recipients [customers] to see me in another position and to develop another contact. Normally I am someone who makes the bed or cleans the room. In doing activities together, they see a completely different dimension of me, namely the human being instead of the nurse.

To conclude, besides the expected effect on health, working with cultural activity in care of older people seems to hold many other values, such as being a catalyst for doing good, creating equal relationships and being almost subversive to the routine and rule-based everyday care. Therefore, in order to give quality to the work of the professionals, it seems relevant to continue working with cultural activity in care of older people. There are obstacles, though, and they will be analysed next.

Self-determination and the Respect for the Liberated Self

A middle manager of a private care home considered the agreement procured by the community, which said that she was required to offer activities five days a week.

> It [the agreement] says offer. It sounds nice but, to be frank, we must never forget what the older person wants. I can offer, offer and offer, but never forget the question: What do you want?

As previously stated, local politicians, managers and staff working with/in care of older people were currently involved in a project aimed at changing the vocabulary as well as how older people were perceived and treated; from a collective group to individuals. The vocabulary change was noticeable both in the interviews as well as on the websites and elsewhere. Older people were described as individuals and customers with the right to liberty and self-determination.

The political philosopher Charles Taylor (1991) argues that being perceived as an autonomic individual structures the way a person in a liberal democratic society is respected and recognized. Referring to the Enlightenment philosophy and Rousseau, Taylor describes a dominating idea of self-determination and liberty based on the ethics of authenticity and captured in these lines:

> Being true to myself means being true to my own originality, and that is something only I can articulate and discover. In articulating it, I am also defining myself. I am realizing a potentiality that is properly my own (Taylor 1991:29).

This liberty of self-determination is formed in the intersection between the individual, considered to be able to "measure" what is right, wrong and good for her or him, and the surrounding society that should respect this measure of right and good (cf. Giddens 1991). Taylor (1995: 145) discusses the implications of these ideas on society. Recognizing each human being as an independent agent, with self-awareness and the capacity to evaluate and make decisions about his or her own life, is the kind of respect that society owes people today.[1]

The interviews display traces of these ideas, e.g. the quotation above and the crucial question, "What do you want?" In earlier studies, I have used the concept "the liberated self" to explain how human beings are respected and recognized in con-

temporary Swedish welfare institutions (Gustafsson 2004, 2012; MacIntyre 1981). The respect for the liberated self is how professionals should recognize older people today, with capacity to evaluate and make decisions about their own lives. The opposite would be the belief that older people are subordinate to traditions and the power of other superiors, e.g. family, heritage and authorities (or caregivers). To become a liberated self is a goal, and professionals and welfare institutions should work to promote the capacities of each individual when evaluating his or her own life and decision-making. This is a respectful approach, but with individual decisions come individual responsibilities.

The respect of the liberated self is also supported by economic liberalism and by the decentralization of welfare institutions and distribution of health care and social services that many societies in Europe have undergone (Rose 1999). As a part of recognizing a person as a liberated self, it is also important that society respects the free choice of welfare services by offering a wide range of both public and private services. In Sweden, the first steps towards economically liberal solutions for the welfare sector were taken in the early 1990s. Economic liberalism means that people are understood as customers on a welfare market.

Both ideas, the respect for the liberated self and the recognition of the customer, are possible obstacles to cultural activity in care of older people. If older people are perceived as customers with a recognized capacity to evaluate their own life, the politicians and the professionals cannot decide what activities they should take part in, or even be offered. One manager at a public care home explains, "If Mary wants to paint, she should have the opportunity to paint."

The respect for the liberated self and for individualism is a way to break up the former treatment of older people as a passive and collective group. One risk is that the idea of the liberated self could be the obstacle to hide behind, i.e. as long as the older people do not ask for something to do, those involved in care of older people do nothing at all. Another risk is that older people are disqualified as "individuals". Most of older people living in care homes (a minority) have multiple diseases, suffer from dementia and/or memory problems. While being respected as capable individuals, they also have to be recognized and still respected as people in need of help and in some respects as lacking the capacity to choose, evaluate and make decisions about their own life (cf. Nilsson 2011).

The Idea of Cultural Relativism

The conclusion that the individual is to decide whether or not he or she shall/wants to take part in/consume cultural activity opens up for another idea presented in the interviews, namely, that culture cannot be valued. Local politicians explained that with the challenge of a growing and ageing population, their one goal was to keep the older people safe and sound until the end. To prevent illness, loneliness and other problems of ageing, the municipalities offered preventive services and this is where cultural activity becomes interesting. In discussions about what culture is, the most common answer was that it could be almost anything.

We talked about cultural activity within the care for older people at lunch at home today. My husband said, "Culture, does that mean you will take the old person to art galleries?" I answered, "No, we have to start asking questions about what culture is, and what it is for you, what would make you happy?" My husband answered, "Well then, I want to watch football." "Okay", I said, "that is a cultural activity. But another kind than a piece of art at a gallery" (manager of a municipality development unit).

Again, it all comes down to the respect for the individual's inner measure and the ethics of authenticity. What culture represents is up to the individual to decide. Which cultural activity or art form a person chooses to consume or take part in is a matter of being true to oneself and what makes oneself happy (Taylor 1991). This leads to relativism when it comes to culture and the value of culture.

Going back to the early twentieth century, the theory of cultural relativism was presented among cultural anthropologists who questioned the dominating theory of cultural evolution (Hastrup 2010). Briefly, cultural evolution was based on the theory that all cultural phenomena could be placed in chains of evolution, like animals and plants. Cultural anthropologists used the cultural evolution theory mainly to explain the differences between "cultures", i.e. why some were primitive and others developed and civilized (ibid.).

What cultural relativists criticized was that the cultural evolutionist theory was both ethnocentric and wrong. Cultural development and differences cannot be explained as determined by evolution and adjustment to nature. Culture is constructed from human creativity and interaction. Therefore, the core issue of cultural relativism is that the value of a cultural phenomenon is relative and follows an immanent rationality only possible to understand in its specific context. In the case of obstacles to cultural activity in the care of older people, the politicians and professionals represent the idea of cultural relativism, an idea that is generous and respectful in how it recognizes the choices and tastes of the individual. One manager concluded:

To me it does not matter what you do as long as it gives happiness and wellbeing. And who am I to decide that painting together with a painter is better than spending time looking in my own photo album? What people enjoy differs, and so it must be. Just because people are old we can't guide them into what to do. I mean myself, I've never enjoyed going to museums looking at paintings, so why would I do that when I move to a care home?

This approach could be called cultural relativism or the privatization of cultural activity. From the perspective of cultural policy and cultural institutions, e.g. the Swedish Arts Council, the Educational Association and the Regional Executive Committee, cultural activity was not relative but seen as high-quality and excellent. Furthermore, care of older people was seen as a public institution where cultural activity was possible to implement with the argument that excellent and high-quality cultural activity is a right for all, with positive effects on health and wellbeing. But this is of course an argument that is dependent on the evaluation of the cultural activity as well as on the fact that not everything that might be included in culture and cultural policies has these good effects. The strong belief in cultural relativism represented in the interviews with politicians and professionals in care of

older people, undermined the aim of the cultural policy and might form an obstacle to the use of cultural activity in the care of older people.

Opportunities and Shortcomings of Cultural Activity in Care of Older People

The ideas described above about the liberated self and cultural relativism open up for questions rather than answers to the issue of the use of cultural activity in care of older people. These are questions of relevance that need to be addressed in the contemporary debate among policymakers and professionals within social work, health care and cultural sectors.

First, the study showed that the demand within the care of older people was based on individual wishes and interests, and up to each old person to decide upon. This means that, in spite of the benefits for health and wellbeing, evidence-based or not, cultural activity cannot be implemented as part of the care of older people as long as it is considered that it should be an individual choice. Another problem related to the idea of the liberated self was pointed out above, namely that the recognition of the liberated self tends to make it difficult to recognize whether or not the older person is aware or not of his or her needs and capacities (to evaluate, make choices and decisions about his or her own life). The balance has to be found between keeping the respect for the individual and his or her privacy and setting up goals of social cohesion and wellbeing by supporting collective activities in public spheres. Otherwise there is a risk that nothing is done at all. Saying "We have to listen to the wishes of the older people" does not mean that professionals or politicians should refrain from taking initiatives.

Second, the idea of cultural relativism could mean a devaluation of cultural activity. Together, the ideas of the liberated self and cultural relativism could lead to a commodification of cultural activity, which would then be recognized and consumed in accordance with the demands, tastes and interests of the old people, with no regard to excellence or high quality. This risk has been debated in cultural policy studies. Believing in the positive impact of culture in social and care settings has led to instrumental approaches to culture as a resource with specific (positive) results (Belfiore 2006). One reason to be critical is that in reality there is very little evidence that cultural activity has that kind of impact (Clift 2012). Another reason is that this cultural policy is "kidnapped" by other institutions and policy areas and disciplines, e.g. by the health and medical care policy. Cultural activity becomes a tool and a support to other areas of society, and the value of cultural activity loses the value of being an end in itself (Belfiore 2010).

Finally, if the argument of cultural activity as a tool for creating health and wellbeing legitimates its use in care of older people, the target group (older people) is likely to be disqualified as a full member of society, with a right to cultural activity. For example, if an older person sings in a choir, singing might be considered a tool for reminiscing and taking care of the brain (Teater & Baldwin 2014). The health aspect becomes superior to other aspects of attending the choir, e.g. the purpose of having fun or learning

something. One consequence could be that older people are perceived as care recipients or possible care recipients instead of free and self-determined individuals that fulfil their own wishes. The easiest way to avoid this would probably be to go back to the core statement and argument, namely that cultural activity is a right for all, regardless of its effects.

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Note

1 Original title: "The Concept of a Person": Social Theory as Practice", *B. N. Ganguli Memorial Lectures, 1981,* New Delhi & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.

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Synchronizing the Self with Science

How Individuals with Parkinson's Disease Move Along with Clinical Trials

By Markus Idvall

I'm going to be cured within ten years, so if anything is going to happen with your stem cells, you must hurry on, […] I remember I said to her.

When Magnus was diagnosed with Parkinson's disease (PD), he was only 44 years old. Married with two children and self-employed, he was in the middle of his life and busy with all those activities that are essential for a middle-aged man in his position: job, family, vacations. The diagnosis came as a shock for him as well as for his wife. Their life together became more complicated and after some time they divorced. In my interview with him, conducted eight years after he fell ill, Magnus explained that, at that time, he could not include anyone else in his life. He had enough with the outbreak of his illness and all the new routines that were introduced to him. His goal was to get cured and he remembers that he promised himself early to accomplish this within ten years.

I met Magnus for an interview during a fieldwork in 2015 on how PD individuals and their relatives face biomedical science and the possibility to participate in clinical trials.[1] Magnus had volunteered as a participant in a research project on cell transplantation and in the interview quotation above he recapitulates what happened just before he was enrolled in these trials that were planned. He had initiated contact with one of the researchers in order to become part in the medical project. As he described it in the interview, he even urged this person, this scientist, to "hurry on" with research. In my exchange with Magnus I could sense in him a sort of impatience with the slow tempo of scientific progress.

The impatience with scientific progress was, it turned out, characteristic not only of Magnus' story but also of many of the other narratives that I came across during my fieldwork. For example, when I interviewed Anita together with her husband Nils, this sort of anxiety was expressed rather unexpectedly in the middle of our conversation. Now in her mid-seventies, Anita told me that she got her Parkinson diagnosis eleven years before, at a time when she was about to retire from her work in an office. In the first years as chronically ill and retired, she was able to do things without being hindered too much. Together with Nils she travelled a great deal, for example. But successively her illness became more and more incapacitating. In the interview she concluded that travelling had now become too tiresome and stressful for her. Her life had in a way slowed down and become more restricted. Regarding my questions about what science possibly could contribute in this situation, she did not hide how frustrated she as a patient felt about circumstances that she could not control or have any impact on. Reports on stem cell research, for example, had followed her continuously ever since she was diagnosed with Parkinson. *But nothing has happened*, she exclaimed with irritation. Her impression was that there had been no scientific breakthrough whatsoever during all these years of her illness.

Impatience with science – a sort of frustrated feeling that progress is too slow and life is elapsing too fast – thus stood out as a crucial factor for how these individuals with PD, who were both actual and potential trial participants, talked about the kind of forefront science that transplantations

with dopaminergic (dopamine-producing) cells into the brain are represented as within biomedicine.[2] What was perceived as a slowness of research pinpoints an existential dilemma for these individuals. As they live their life with a feeling that the kind of research results that could possibly change their situation – in a crucial way and probably for the better – never come, they are simultaneously addressed as mortal beings in a way. In an attempt to explore what this pattern of existential anxiety and dis/quieting dis/beliefs that the PD individuals articulated is all about, I will apply a radical time perspective on these issues. In the article I highlight several different aspects of how time is experienced, used and patterned in different contexts: the gradual development of a specific transplant activity; some individuals' juggling with the past; their connections to what they see as the hope of the future; their ways of sharing time with others, in terms of investing, consuming and wasting time, in terms of winning and losing time, or waiting for time; their experiences of slow and fast tempos; their different practices of synchronizing with others, with what they perceive can save them or let them down.

I will use inputs from four different scholars who in various ways gave me instruments for problematizing how people live in time and with time. Charmaz, Foucault, de Certeau and Ingold: all four deal with questions about the subject and her/his relation to time, body and mobility. The sociologist Kathy Charmaz (1991) discusses how time experience is an essential part of how the chronically ill constitute their self; how they organize and cope with their lives. In her book *Good Days, Bad Days: The Self in Chronic Illness and Time* she pictures how the self of the chronically ill is based on a strategic time structuring that involves several different practices: organizing, scheduling, reordering, simplifying, juggling, pacing, etc. (1991:134–166).

In his work on the history of sexuality, the cultural historian Michel Foucault (1988, 2002) shows how what he calls the care of the self and different strategies of the body were central for the development of the modern self. Together with Charmaz's self in time, Foucault helped me to focus on how the body turns into a strategic arena for the individual subject in fleeting encounters with the health promises of science. However, using the cultural theorist Michel de Certeau's work *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984) I also turn the analysis in a different direction: instead of strategy I want to test what prospects a concept such as tactic has within the frames of a time perspective. According to de Certeau (1984:37), tactic is vital for understanding how the operations of what he calls "the weak" make use of time in order to realize "a mobility that must accept the chance offerings of the moment, and seize on the wing the possibilities that offer themselves at any given moment". Tactic and mobility will in this context visualize how power is enacted on the individuals, in terms of what de Certeau (1984:37) calls "enemy territory" or "panoptic places", for example, and how the embodied strategies thus become temporary and restricted in different ways.

Like de Certeau, the social anthropologist Tim Ingold takes pains to integrate movement in different respects in his way

of analysing people and environment. In his books *Line: A Brief History* (2007) and *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description* (2011) he introduces an original perspective on how humans (and non-humans) live, not in stable networks but in knotty and disordered meshworks where individuals move around in relationships not *between* but *along* each other (Ingold 2011:63–94). The line is Ingold's metaphor for how life is lived in movements which can be assembled and fairly organized (Ingold 2007:72–75), but whose main characteristic supports the idea that entangled life is endless, open and messy. My time perspective here will thus be related to how individuals are immersed in "conjoined" actions where lines are tangled while touching and crossing rather than meeting each other (cf. Ingold 2011:83).

Below I will start the analysis of some individuals whose self will be pictured as, ambiguously, both strategically organized and in constant motion, by sketching a brief historical contextualization of the current cell transplant trials. Linked to this contextualization will be the individuals' own understanding of how the early trials, which they did not take part in, turned out. Their juggling with these past events then becomes the bridge to the analysis of the present where the cultural practices of connecting to others, sharing time and synchronizing between different movements will stand in the forefront. To round off I present a brief conclusion about how one can understand the ways in which moving along with life and science is a fruitful perspective on the situation for actual and potential research subjects. Before I start, however, I will present my fieldwork and the material that was collected and eventually used in the analysis.

Method and Material

In the planning process of the fieldwork that this article is based on, I became interested in meeting individuals with varied experiences of biomedical science in general and clinical trials in particular. My initial focus, however, was on individuals who had participated in clinical trials. I wanted to know more about their trial experiences. Still, I also had an interest in how patients more generally looked upon new biomedical technologies and therapies. Because of this I eventually decided to interview not only actual trial participants but also individuals who, even though having no personal experience of clinical trials, could relate to science in broader terms from their illness perspective. This double interest of mine, in trial experience and in a more general but still disease-orientated perspective on clinical trials, was finally systematized by the construction of a questionnaire including questions on patient empowerment and clinical trial participation.

In the recruitment phase of the interview study, I was in contact with the two categories: individuals with Parkinson who either had or lacked personal experience of clinical trials. Individuals with trial experience were enrolled through a kind of snowball sampling. My first informant with this background was well known in patient contexts and through mass media. By using this person's suggestions for additional interview subjects, I expanded that part of my interview study that concerned trial experience. Individuals without experience of clinical trials

were instead approached through contacts with different local patients' associations. In this case I was invited to meetings where I presented my research project and, simultaneously, was allowed to ask whether anybody in the audience was interested in taking part as an interview subject in my work. All interview subjects, both those with and those without trial experience, were informed about the interview study through written and oral information and they also signed a consent form about their participation in the study. All together 16 PD individuals were interviewed. In eight cases, a partner was interviewed together with the individual with Parkinson. Thus, in total 24 individuals took part in 16 separate interviews.

The 16 individuals with Parkinson's disease – seven women and nine men – were in different phases of their illness. Some had been ill for more than twenty years, while others received their diagnosis only a few years before. Some had experienced an early onset of the disease in their life whereas others had perceived their first symptoms much later in life. Some were in their early forties when interviewed, while others had passed seventy. Some were employed or self-employed; others were retired, after reaching retirement age or in advance as an effect of their illness. Some were affected by the disease rather mildly, whereas others were affected to a great extent – they could be hindered in their speech or their legs were weak. In this sense I learned that Parkinson is not only a degenerative disease with distinct phases, but also a condition where symptoms vary from individual to individual.

The interviews, which lasted on average about one hour, mostly took place in the interview subjects' private homes. A couple of interviews, however, were conducted at my interview subject's or my own office and one interview was in an outdoor café. The interviews were recorded and these recordings were eventually transcribed verbatim. Sixteen interview transcriptions are thus the empirical foundation of the analysis here in the article. Supplementary research material in the shape of biomedical articles published on cell transplantation was collected for the historical part of the article.

A Step-by-Step Development for Cell Transplantations into the Brain

In the first half of the 1980s, research was focused on cells from the adrenal glands as a possibility to restore the failing function of dopamine for Parkinson patients. Research teams in different parts of the world struggled to initiate the first clinical trials where the cell tissue for implantation into the brain of PD individuals was to be procured from the recipient's own body. Technically these interventions were thus autografts, implicating only one individual, rather than transplants, which always involve two separate individuals: a donor and a recipient. The first implantations with adrenal cells took place in Sweden, where four patients in total received this type of tissue into the brain. These trials were not a success, however, as health improvements were only temporary for the patients (Björklund & Lindvall 2013:29–31). At about the same time, a team in Mexico City implanted two patients who were relatively young, in their thirties, and who had "intractable and incapacitating Parkinson's disease", with tissue from the

adrenal glands. The Mexican team, in contrast to the Swedish groups, reported more firmly "[c]linical improvement" in their patients and in this way triggered a lot of new activity within the field in the next few years (Madrazo *et al*. 1987; Williams 1990:301). According to a retrospective article, several hundred patients had this kind of brain surgery worldwide in the second half of the 1980s "in a series of rather poorly controlled trials" (Dunnett *et al*. 2001:365). In the USA, research groups soon showed that these autografts from the adrenal glands "did not survive long-term and that, at best, modest clinical effects [for the implanted patients] were followed by significant side effects and an unacceptable level of morbidity and mortality" (Dunnett *et al*. 2001:365).

A change of track was already on the way in this growing patient participatory context of cell implantation. Neuron cells, procured from human foetuses, were the new bio-material that was invested with hope by the scientists. Preclinical trials with rats had been conducted since the 1970s (Dunnett *et al*. 2001:365; Freed 2002:1755; Barker *et al*. 2013:84). In 1987, time was ripe for a research team in Sweden to perform the world's first clinical trial with transplantation of neuron cells from aborted foetuses into the brain of human recipients.[3] Within a short interval two Parkinson patients were selected and transplanted. The result for these trial participants "showed minimal if any improvement and [there was] no real evidence of graft survival", one of the scientists involved in these trials recalled in a symposium text published more than twenty years after the trials (Björklund & Lindvall 2013:37). Despite this, new transplants were planned by the Swedish team and in 1989 two new patients were grafted with foetal neuron cells. "In patient 3", the scientist remembers in his symposium text, "it was clear that something started to happen from about three months after transplantation." He continued:

> The movements in his [the patient's] limb contralateral [on the opposite side] to the grafts were faster and his rigidity was less. His condition in the morning after drug withdrawal over night was improved (Björklund & Lindvall 2013:39).

After another two months it was decided to investigate more carefully whether the improvement for this participant was "due to surviving graft in the patient's brain". The check involved a trip to London for the scientist and one of his colleagues together with their patient. Here they got a PET scan of the brain of the patient at a collaborating hospital.[4] "Already when we were in London", the scientist recalled in the symposium text,

> the preliminary images suggested that dopaminergic grafts had survived. We were extremely excited but could not believe that this was true. When I came home […] I did not dare to tell my wife. After a few days we got confirmation that the PET images really showed a surviving graft […]. This finding, that grafted cells can survive transplantation into the brain of a 50 year old human affected by a chronic neurodegenerative disorder and give rise to a measurable improvement, was the most exciting ever in my scientific career (Björklund & Lindvall 2013:39–40).

A new shift came in the 1990s however. Dopamine-producing cells from animals – known as xenotransplantation – turned up as a possible solution for humans with Parkinson. If this could work, it may be possible to resolve the generic problem of transplant scarcity that concerned not only

cells from aborted human foetuses but almost all sorts of grafts (kidneys, lungs, hearts, etc.). Great excitement surrounded xenotransplantation research in those days, and some research clinics across the world even initiated clinical trials with animal cell transplants. These trials with pig cells and bovine cells involved not only Parkinson patients but also individuals with disorders such as cancer and diabetes. However, in comparison with the human cell material, the results from the transplantations with animal cells were not so promising. Animal cells were, moreover, linked to a potential risk that non-human grafts could spread diseases to humans on a genetic basis. Scientific articles had shown, for example, that virus genes incorporated in the DNA of the pig could infect human cells when these virus genes and human cells were cultivated (Larsson & Brundin 2004:158–161). Eventually the xenotransplantation research on humans was suspended in Europe and elsewhere.

In parallel with the xenotransplantation research, human cells continued to engage Parkinson scientists in the early 1990s. During this period around 400 PD patients were transplanted with foetal neuron cells in different centres all over the world (Barker *et al*. 2013:85; Petit *et al*. 2014: 61). The results were diverse. There were patients whose condition improved after having this kind of new cell therapy. But there were also those who experienced no improvement at all. "[T]he variability in clinical outcome was striking", as expressed in a later review article on the experiments (Barker *et al*. 2013:85). As a response to this uncertainty two multicentre projects in the USA, financed by powerful National Institutes of Health (NIH), performed two double-blind, placebo-controlled trials. More than seventy participants were enrolled altogether in the two studies and the project designs made it possible to compare how or whether transplanted and non-transplanted participants reacted differently to the treatments they received (Freed *et al*. 2001; Olanow *et al*. 2003). Still, the researchers in the end could not give any exact explanation for why there was such variability in the way patients reacted to cell transplants. An important finding of these bigger trials was, however, the identification of the risk of a certain side effect in the form of severe and uncontrollable dyskinesias (involuntary movements of the body) for some of the participants who were transplanted with the foetal neuron cells (Dunnett *et al*. 2001:367; Evans *et al*. 2012:172).[5]

It was no surprise then that a new shift was indicated for cell implant research on PD individuals in the early twenty-first century. Now stem cells appeared as a challenger of the original foetal neuron cells (Larsson & Brundin 2004:161–163). Stem cells were anticipated to become more accessible than cells procured from aborted foetuses. They were also expected to be a more flexible tool for implantations than (ordinary) neuron cells in the future. Stem cells were potent in a completely new way, that is, they could develop into all different cell types in the human body, while neuron cells were fixed in one single function.[6] However, this great flexibility of the stem cells was also a weakness. This new type of cells were known to start differentiating in uncontrollable ways, and in the human brain this could lead to the development of brain tu-

mour for transplanted individuals. Stem cells were therefore not useful in clinical trials for the time being, whereas foetal neuron cells were taken as being a relatively safe but rather inaccessible source when performing transplants for some additional time.[7]

Juggling with the Past and Monitoring the Self in Participatory Contexts

This passage of a time filled with progress that runs step by step – a passage which took cell implantations on individuals with PD from adrenal to neuron cells, from human to animal cells and back to human cells, as well as from foetal to, most probably, stem cells – is not a *lived* history for the individuals with Parkinson that I interviewed. Rather this passage must be seen as a history that is *represented* in different contexts for the individuals. However, in theory, a more personal experience of the early trials could have been possible for the individuals too. Having been born in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, my informants were all contemporary beings at the time of the specific developments. Still, none of the early innovations or cell transplant trials, from the 1980s and 1990s, appears as a personal memory in any of the interviews. Probably this has to do with the fact that most of my informants did not have their PD onset until some years later, in the early twenty-first century.

However, those few of my interview persons who actually got Parkinson in the 1990s remember a particular debate from that decade, namely, the controversial issue of whether aborted human foetuses could be used in clinical trials and for scientific purposes (see note 7). Birgitta recalled, for example, that foetal neuron cells were questioned as source material. Her own standpoint is nevertheless that the use of the human foetus for this kind of object is acceptable. Inger likewise mentioned the foetal neuron cells that were debated in former times. In her story the recollection is embedded in her own fate. At the time of these controversies she was struggling to understand what was wrong with herself. She was obviously experiencing her first PD symptoms in those years and got immersed in that type of alienating process that one endures while falling ill (Gunnarson 2016:84–89). When Inger finally contacted a doctor, she told him that she thought that she had Parkinson. But the doctor, as a general practitioner and not a specialist, did not think so because she was too young for that in his eyes. She had not turned forty yet.

The early cell transplant trials were remembered in an informational rather than a personal way by many of the interview subjects. The attitude of these subjects was formed by a distance in relation to the actual events in the past. However, as individuals with PD they also sensed the importance of understanding what truly happened in those early trials and how all this was related to them. The response of the individuals to these former trials, or rather towards the information about them, became a sort of juggling with the past – what Charmaz (1991:161–166) sees as a strategic time structuration in order to control the difficult embodied situation. Such a striving for informational control, from Foucault's (1988) outlook a kind of monitoring of the embodied self vis-à-vis science, was particularly apparent among those interview subjects who were partici-

pating in the cell transplant trials in the present time. When I interviewed Mikael he was aware of his placement in the group which was to be without an active transplant, the control group.[8] This circumstance did not correspond to what he expected as he accepted participation in the project at an earlier stage. At the time of his connection to the project he was prepared to be transplanted with the foetal neuron cells. Still, his optimism from the time he was enrolled has not been reduced over the three or four years that he has taken part in the research project. In line with this hard-won optimism was his way of "remembering" the early trials at the clinic where he is enrolled, in the following terms: one-third of the eighteen patients that underwent surgery in the 1980s and 1990s "were in principle cured", one-third "improved a great deal" and one-third "had no clear effect".

Magnus too put a lot of faith in the approaching trials by juggling with the past. He emphasized that some of the members of the present research team were also involved in the early trials in the 1980s and 1990s. In his view this was an advantage because the scientists that he was thinking of had, thanks to their experience gained knowledge that he thought would be useful in the forthcoming trials. In Magnus's opinion the early trials both failed and succeeded and for this reason they became a resource for future scientific work. To stress his point Magnus recounted the different theoretical insights that the researchers, in his view, gained from the early trials, concerning the selection of the trial participants as well as the medication that these subjects had during the trials.

Magnus and Mikael described the past trials with optimism, even though it was an optimism that was subdued. Both were aware of the problems encountered in the early trials. After his signing of the consent form, for example, Magnus read some scientific material on the early trials that he received from a friend. Reading this material he understood that some of the early trial participants had a different type of Parkinson from his. When I asked him if he had talked about this with his doctors who were running the research project, he joked that he did not want to know too much. Still, in his opinion the early cell transplant trials were overall a failure from the perspective of the patients, even though some participants improved in their health. Mikael, from his angle, identified risks that may turn up in future trials with what happened in those early trials that took place "outside Sweden", namely, that the conditions of several of those early participants got worse after their cell transplantation and one patient even died. Mikael reasoned that this probably had to do with mistakes made by these foreign researchers who carried out the studies or with the selection of participants which included patients who were unsuitable for that kind of surgical intervention that was in question.

Connecting with the Scientists of Hope

Kathy Charmaz (1991:250) discusses a certain form of future-orientation among chronically ill; how these can situate their selves in the future in what they do in their everyday lives, by "living in the future, [and by] directing one's thoughts, actions, and plans toward the future". What hap-

pens according to Charmaz (1991:250) is that "[s]pecific meanings of the future shape how ill people project themselves into it". Here I will deal with PD individuals' self-projections into the future by analysing how these patients and trial participants that I interviewed make contact in clinical encounters with that "industry of hopes" (Lundin 2004:11–12) that the presence of science and implicitly scientists themselves represent. Attempting to connect with clinical scientists is thus seen as an essential way for the PD individuals to follow hope – to live with hope – in their daily practices. If they succeed in that following of scientific hope, they not only become part of the constant flow of continuation or in that unfinished history which the past trials are a reminder of, and which the scientific practices in the present represent "before the cure", but they also qualify as moving into and thereby having a future, even though this future is dependent on, in de Certeau's (1984) and Ingold's (2011) eyes, movements which are indeterminately forward and not fully aligned with the half-structured, half-messy meshwork of the scientific practices.

A first impression was that for many of my interview subjects, research was unknown ground when I mentioned the topic. Instead, in the interviews the subjects often referred to their contacts with doctors and nurses. However, in these contacts with care-givers rather than scientists, the producer of hope – research – could turn up suddenly and without warning. The doctors especially have a dual role in this context. Their main character is that of the physician, but sometimes and often unpredictably they come out as scientists too in their encounters with patients. Most of the interview subjects had contact with their doctor once a year. These consultations usually took an hour and during this hour there was seldom time to ask more open questions that would include scientific issues. Correspondingly, Marie told me how many questions she wanted to ask about how dopamine works in the brain and whether the brain can repair itself after loss of dopamine, but there was never any time for questions. She felt that her doctor was under too much stress for that kind of conversation. Inger likewise perceived that there was no time to ask questions beyond her own condition when she met her doctor, even though she knew that he was active as a researcher. Instead she asked the nurses about what was going on in research. These usually replied: "We will see in five or ten years." But they did not know anything really, Inger added. Per assumed somewhat critically that his doctor was not doing any research at all. At least he had never talked about research with his doctor. Similarly, Bo was never able to learn more about Parkinson research in conversations with his doctor. In the interview his wife Karin disapprovingly added that Parkinson care is not very well developed in Sweden, at least not outside the areas of the university hospitals, and often as a patient you meet a new doctor every time you come back for a new consultation since the permanent medical staff is away on parental leave or vacation.

When it comes to connecting with science within the frames of health care and hereby, imaginatively, moving along a promising therapeutic path into the future, university clinics seem to offer more value

for their patients than other less academic clinics do for their patients in their contexts where academic traditions are sparser. Mats's story illustrates this. He had previously gone to a doctor in his hometown. But this doctor closed his clinic and Mats was forced to find a new doctor. He decided to consult a doctor in a nearby city with a university hospital. He explained that the "culture" was totally different in this new context. The doctor appeared to know more and was more open in his talk than his former doctor was. Mats was not taking part in any trials for the time being, but felt that he had come "closer to science" just by having a doctor in the university town. In line with this circumstance that university clinics increase the possibility of scientific connections was Birgitta's description of how she interacted with her doctor. Being a scientist herself, she had a good dialogue with her doctor and felt that she could discuss research questions with him as well. Her doctor was known as one of the successful scientists at the university clinic. Birgitta was not taking part in clinical trials at present, but was waiting for Deep Brain Stimulation (DBS) surgery, which is a form of specialist care and only conducted at university clinics.[9] Before she accepted this possible intervention, she had been informed in detail by her doctor-cum-researcher.

This closeness to science and possible better treatments in the future can be experienced as unfair among other PD individuals and their families. At least, this is how I interpret Bo and Karin's critical comment on Parkinson care above. These feelings of injustice also informed Per's answer when I asked him how he got information about science. He had no contact with researchers for the moment and felt a bit wronged in terms of how much information those patients living in university areas receive in comparison to what he himself received when living at a long distance from a university hospital. However, Anita, who was living in the same region as Per, felt that she obtained all the information on research that she needed from her doctor. She added approvingly that this doctor never looked at what time it was when meeting her. Within this open time for consultation whose liberal frames were set by Anita's doctor, there was also time for some more casual talk on research. According to Anita, her doctor explained to her how far the scientists had come in their research and how slow this development usually is.

In these narratives about being inside or outside the contextual boundaries of the university hospital and the hopes of the future that this institution gives rise to for the chronically ill, one can sense what tactic mobility may be about in situations when individuals with Parkinson approach scientists. The university hospital represents that strategic space – an "enemy territory" in de Certeau's (1984:37) view – where one as a tactically orientated potential research participant is reduced to being the other in relation to the relatively powerful scientists. However, individuals who as actual trial participants have more continuous contact with clinical science appear to transform some part of this secondary position of being the other. Instead, these individuals gradually seem to occupy a more strategic stance based on their embodied participation in the trials as well as on the self-care that supports the

kind of action that clinical participation entails. In Magnus's story about how his doctor, at a different hospital, reacted when he heard about Magnus' participation in the clinical trials, we see how a research patient in some instances can become more than the subordinate other in the biomedical context. Magnus' doctor is a scientist himself, but he is not part of the research project that Magnus is participating in. However, this doctor knew very well who the scientists collaborating with Magnus were, and apparently he also admired one or two of them. At least, this is what comes to mind when Magnus describes how impressed the doctor was when Magnus told that he was one of the trial participants at the particular research clinic. Hearing that Magnus was meeting these well-known individuals every time he went for a test that was part of the research project, the doctor was mesmerized. Some of these researchers that he gets to meet at the research clinic, Magnus explained, have the status of rock stars among neurologists in Sweden.

Whether trial participants can transform their supposedly minor position to such a great extent that they start to have an impact on doctors and scientists' behaviour is a question that generates different answers. If one asks individuals who have never partaken in science there seems to be an understanding that this is the case, that trial participants, for example, get consultation time with the doctor more easily than ordinary, non-participatory patients. A reason can be, as one informant suggested, that a researcher who is also one's doctor needs to meet the patient for a check-up at more frequent intervals in order to collect necessary data for the project. Magnus in a way confirmed this from his trial participant perspective. He was convinced that he benefited from his participation in the cell transplant trials. He visited the researchers three times a year in comparison to an ordinary patient who often meets his or her doctor only once a year for consultation. If he wanted to, he declared, he could also telephone his doctors any time. For example, if he had the wrong medication he learned about this at once as a trial participant. Another one of the trial participants that I interviewed, Annika, was, however, ambivalent about this question whether she would gain anything from being a research patient. In her imagination it was like that, she said. But in practice she felt that, as a patient, she had not gained any benefits from her participation in the trials. She switched doctor when she became trial participant. Now her doctor was one of the researchers whose project she was part of. However, even in this research context consultation time seemed to be in short supply. She talked about how problematic it could be sometimes to get in contact with her doctor, or with anyone else at the university clinic, in order to discuss her medication, for example. In these situations when she was acting as patient in the research environment of the university clinic, she could "feel small" in relation to the medical staff who were simultaneously conducting research on her.

Feeling small is another way of saying that one does not feel fully comfortable with one's embodied presence in the context of the clinical trials. In this respect the enemy territory of the university hospital that turns the regular patient into the sub-

ordinate other is a reality also for those trial participants who strive to be more strategic in relation to scientists and doctors. Also as a trial participant, one may need to indulge oneself in that tactic and the greater mobility that characterizes how non-participatory patients relate to science in general. Even identifying oneself with a small laboratory animal may, half seriously and half as a joke, be a way to recognize for oneself one's feelings of smallness or vulnerability in this context. Both Magnus and Mikael mentioned in passing that sometimes when connecting with science one can feel like one of those laboratory animals – a rat or a hamster – that usually are experimented on long before clinical trials on humans are even contemplated. Against this background, connecting with science and possibly immersing oneself in what can be future treatments appears as a possibility to gain a more high-status position than patients in general, but also as a form of emotional risk which means that in certain situations one may feel strangely vulnerable in a way that one is not used to.

Sharing Time with Science

When I met Per for an interview he had just finished his daily physical activity. Together with a friend he was having lunch as I rang the doorbell to his house. His friend was about to leave and Per had time for our interview; actually the full afternoon if I wanted to, but in the evening he was going to a concert with his choir. In the interview I learned that Per had a lot of activities in his everyday life. Physical activity took a lot of time, but he was also active in different societies. He had recently retired from his job and now felt that there was time for all this in his life. Per's Parkinson appeared to be relatively mild in comparison to some of my other informants' PD. He explained that there are people who sometimes do not understand that he is ill at all. According to Per, these people could not read the small signs which were present. If they looked at "my facial expressions" more carefully, they would understand, he said. Regarding research, Per expressed great enthusiasm for this. However, he himself was not interested in taking part in clinical trials for the time being. He felt that he was too well at the moment and, what is more, he did not have the time.

Per's way of reasoning is not unique. Even with a life-long disease like Parkinson one fills one's days with time-consuming activities. Also managing the chronic illness itself takes time, and often means an immersion in illness (Charmaz 1991:73–104). Therefore, in this continuous passage of mundane activities, an opportunity to take part in a clinical trial conveys something in temporal respects. Clinical participation becomes a form of investment in time for the individual with PD in order to win or improve something. Trial participation transforms the patients into research participants but also into time consumers who in their daily practices and reflections are forced to balance between, on the one hand, what they see as a time loss for themselves and, on the other hand, what they experience as a substantial gain in some way.

Investing time in clinical participation varies a great deal in grade. Participation in cell transplant trials is probably among the more time-consuming projects for individuals with PD. When I listened to An-

nika, Magnus and Mikael – the three of my interview subjects who were taking part in a clinical trial – I got the impression that there were several dimensions in the way they shared their time with science within the frames of the research project. On a general level they were assembled for this project for some years and maybe even longer.[10] Assembled in the sense that they were, as Ingold (2007:72–75) would put it, following a process of construction or assembly where a number of connected points are planned for them and lie ahead of them. They had already been part of the project for three to five years. During this time they had been subject to several tests. Twice a year they visited the research clinic and went through tests which were repeated over again the next time they came. Once a year they also went abroad to a specialist clinic where they, just like the early trial participants, had a brain scan so that the scientists could map the disease progression in the brain. The repeated tests gave a certain rhythm to their clinical participation and, in a way, a sort of motivating orientation that took them ahead in the project. However, these tests also entailed a risk of collisions between the private time of the individuals and the assembled time of the project. Especially the trip to the clinic abroad that was usually three days long had a tendency to intervene into the daily routines of the individuals. In Annika's case these three-day long trips had not always been easily incorporated in the constant flow of activities and demands at home. Last time she went she missed her son's graduation day from school. She tried in vain to get a different date for her travel. Her visits to the clinic abroad had also been in conflict with her own work at home. In contrast to many of her PD friends she was still working professionally. These trips abroad often meant that she missed two or three days at work. She was supposed to be compensated for her loss of income, but sometimes it took an annoyingly long time for this to come through.

By sharing time with science, the trial participants took a certain step in their illness careers where they demonstrated a moral self-management of the ill body within the frames of the biomedical system. This particular responsibility that the trial participants showed is, according to Foucault, a form of ethics engaging the subject and including a technology of the body (see e.g. Bernauer & Mahon 1994). On the basis of the moral approach, ideas about possible personal gain from this participation must embrace the fact that clinical trials may be a painful or stressful time for participants too. All three of them – Mikael, Annika and Magnus – confirmed that these agonizing moments existed in a trial process. It may be that, due to the specific research protocol, one is without medication for some hours or even days, or it can be that one is seized with cramp in one's legs when one is supposed to lie still in the brain scan machine. As Magnus said: You are not "on the top" when taking part in a research project; you "get mad at the nurse when she doesn't find the vein in your arm" or you get so bored and frustrated that "you shout at them to change the music". The tiresome or painful time that trial participants experience in order gain something for their possible improvement does not need to be limited to the days for the tests only. Trial participation can, as in Annika's case, make one exhausted and

consume one's time after one has returned back home too.

The responsible attitude that the trial participants are forced to adopt – in the sociologist Nikolas Rose's (1999:214) perspective, their responsibilization – can be challenged in many ways during clinical participation. Both Mikael and Magnus had been randomized into the control group during the project process. As a consequence they would not get the active substance implanted in the clinical trial. This generated a personal crisis for both of them. They had been enrolled into the project on the basis of their conviction that this trial was a way of receiving some form of treatment for their Parkinson. Now they were not involved in this critical part of the project any longer, and this meant that both of them had pondered over whether they were going to use their right to withdraw from the project. They had similar feelings about the new conditions for their participation in the project; feelings that their role in the control group would mean that they were losing time in some sense in their search for better treatments or even a cure.

A participant's withdrawal is of course a problem for the managers of a research project. Usually one has some kind of strategy to counter this kind of problem. In the project that Magnus and Mikael took part in, the individuals' motivation to stay on in the project was assumed to be strengthened by offering these participants that have been removed from the transplant group the possibility to take part in new clinical studies after the project in question was finished, or, if the grafts turn out to be effective, by offering the control participants a dose of this cell tissue right after the project was ended. In that way the project managers may hope to incorporate a feeling among the control participants that they are not wasting their time when being part in the research project. On the other hand, although Magnus still felt frustrated about being randomized into the control group, he could also think of this as actually being a better alternative than receiving the active substance within the project time. He could be reminded that a surgery is always a risk, and as a participant in the control group he would not be operated on in this project. "So maybe I am a winner anyhow," he concluded, even though he knew that he would have to wait for his trial and possible treatment.

In health care, waiting-time is usually a negative thing. As a patient one does not want to wait too long to get treatment. One is waiting for a specific treatment and meanwhile one is maybe suffering pain or getting more ill.[11] In my interviews there are several examples of how the PD individuals as patients have been forced to wait for certain treatments for different reasons. Often it has been a question of lack of resources. In some instances periods of waiting-time have developed into a struggle to get a treatment more rapidly from the patient's point of view. One of my interview subjects had great problems with her Parkinson and she was told by her doctor that she needed to get specialist treatment in the form of Deep Brain Stimulation (DBS) surgery. She consented to this DBS surgery but was deeply disappointed when she was told that there was to be a one year-long wait for treatment in her region. She could not accept this and decided to protest against

these structural problems that she saw as unfair in relation to what other patients experienced in other parts of the country. Eventually, and probably thanks to her protest, she got her surgery in a shorter time than was planned originally.

For research participants waiting-time is, however, an even more complex phenomenon to relate to. It is not certain that waiting is absolutely negative for you. As Magnus reasoned, maybe he will be a winner even though he will have to wait longer for his possible treatment than the ones who are in the transplant group. Nor is waiting something that is abolished even for those who get the supposedly fast solution, the ones in the transplant group. Annika, who was one of these, felt that she was waiting at the moment and that this long waiting-time, which it had been, was bad for her participation in the research project. She was motivated to get a cell transplant and her chances to obtain this were lowered every time a planned intervention was suspended. Waiting had the consequence that she advanced in her illness and became more ill, and this made her enrolment as a research participant less certain since she needed to fulfil certain health criteria to be part in the project.

Cell transplant trials thus involve individuals for long periods of time. In contrast to these time-invasive project there are many relatively small research projects, too, which are more economical as time investments for the PD individuals. In these projects sharing time with science can easily be associated with ideas about how one as an individual contributes to the good of society by one's trial participation. This factor may be part of the more invasive projects as well, but societal gain appears to be easy to refer to when the immersion in science is relatively short for the individual. Birgitta, who had taken part in smaller research projects earlier, but never in transplant trials, could in this regard feel that it was her responsibility to participate in research. Still, time investments could be perceived as costly even in these smaller projects. For Anita and Nils it only took a day of their time to be part in a research project. This was some years ago and they were driven by sheer curiosity about Anita's condition as a PD patient. They felt that perhaps they were to learn more about this by participating in the project. However, when I met them for interview I could sense a frustration that had remained with them over the years about not being informed about any results from that other project. Also, for Monica it was costly to participate in a relatively small research project. As wife of a man with PD she participated in the same project as her husband. She belonged to the control group and took the same type of tests that her husband did in the research group. Afterwards she got really ill and had to stay in bed for several days, with severe headache and vomiting. Now in hindsight she said that she would never again take part in a research project like that one.

Synchronizing the Degeneration of the Body with Science

Parkinson's disease is not seen as a disease that causes one's death. Thanks to medication it is a disease that one as chronically ill dies *with* rather than *from* (Hagell 2004:79), but due to the degeneration of the body that Parkinson causes the

disease develops into a kind of social death in the end phase.[12] Awareness of this latter phase – when one loses one's autonomy as an individual and becomes dependent on others – characterized some of my interviews explicitly. In this respect Marie and Mikael were each other's opposites. Marie had a hard time controlling her feelings when she told me how fast the progress of her illness had been in the last few years. Her health condition had changed for the worse in a very short period of time. Mikael, in contrast, looked slightly relieved when he told me how his doctor had explained that he was lucky to have a relatively mild form of Parkinson – that is, a condition that develops slowly over the years. The tempo of the degeneration of the body is therefore a central aspect of how one relates to science. Or rather, the experience of the tempo, because there is no exact correlation between, on the one hand, having fast degeneration of the body, that is, being a patient desperate enough so to speak, and, on the other hand, accepting participation in clinical trials. Circumstances are more complex than this. This is shown, for example, in the cases of Marie and Mikael. Marie looked actively for different treatments that could help her, but told me that she was not prepared to join a cell transplant project today if she were asked even though her illness had developed fast in the last years. But maybe she would be interested in ten years or so when her condition, as she anticipated, has worsened even more. Mikael, for his part, who was about the same age as Marie, that is, in his early fifties, was, despite the slow progress of his disease, as mentioned, already taking part in the clinical cell transplant trials. He had been enrolled in the project by his doctor and the reason for this was probably that he had this relatively slow degeneration of the body due to mild PD and simultaneously was in relatively good shape.

Instead, in order to understand how individuals time the tempo of their own embodied degeneration with the opportunity to take part in clinical trials, we need to discuss it in terms of the cultural practice that I call synchronizing the self with science. With this conceptualization I want to stress how individuals negotiate their own progress into the complex condition of the illness with how they experience the movement of science, whether it is experienced as slow or fast, safe or unsafe, etc. In the interviews I encountered two contradictory ways of synchronizing in relation to clinical trials in general and the cell transplant trials in particular: aligning and dis-matching. Annika, Magnus and Mikael had obviously all aligned to the cell transplant trials in early phases of their illness. But they did this in different ways. Annika and Magnus were enrolled in the trials in rather similar ways. Both took an active stance in order to have the possibility to be recruited to the project. Both approached a scientist after a lecture and asked if they could join as trial participant. When Annika did this she saw it as a chance to test something different. She was aware that the foetal neuron cells might not become a method for everyone, since there was the practical and ethical problem of the availability of cells. However, she wanted to test this possibility before she had come too far in the progression of the disease. Magnus, on the other hand, became interested in the trial alter-

native successively. At the beginning of his illness he actually turned down a request from one of the nurses at the clinic. It was not a formal request, but more of a check as to whether he had any interest in this at all. However, as time passed he became more and more interested in the scientific alternative and after a popular lecture by a scientist on cell transplant research he confronted the researcher in the doorway after the lecture and asked if there was any possibility to join as a transplant participant. He gave the researcher his name and after some time he was enrolled in the project. When a friend, who also had Parkinson, questioned his decision by asking how he could let them "juggle with your brain", he concluded that this friend was ten years younger than himself. He saw this as "my chance to get something which I believe in". Mikael, in contrast to Annika and Magnus, was, as mentioned, approached by the clinic. On a visit to the university clinic where he met his doctor, he was given an information sheet about the project and was asked by the medical staff whether he was interested in signing up for the planned project. He did not know much about the research project but he was interested at once and consented with a signature.

Aligning is thus a form of synchronizing movement where accepting the conditions is central for how one times one's own life and self with the institutionalizing practices of science. While accepting is the key feature of aligning, it is more difficult to say what is most fundamental about the synchronizing practice of dis-matching. It is not a matter of rejecting science, for, as in Magnus' case above, a turning down can be followed by an aligning due to the movements of life (and science). Dis-matching has a lot in common with de Certeau's (1984:37) concept of tactic mobility. It is a movement that takes the individual along and sometimes across the enemy territory that science represents. Occasionally opportunities arise for the individual to take part in what the territory can afford, but usually there is no real contact. Marie's story has a lot of these features. She was only in her early forties when she felt her first symptoms. More than ten years later she was interested in stem cell research, but she was, as mentioned above, not prepared to take part in trials if she were to be asked. Instead, now she investigates her illness by her own "trials". She studies herself by objectifying herself, by looking at what reactions she gets when she exposes her body to different climates, different routines, and different food while travelling. Taking part in formal science was therefore not interesting for her at the moment. As also said above, she stated that she would like to wait another ten years or so before she would participate in research. Birgitta had likewise dis-matched herself from taking part in surgery. In her case she was offered Deep Brain Stimulation (DBS) surgery at a time when she felt that her own symptoms were acceptable to live with, while she simultaneously perceived that the surgeons needed more practice on the specific surgical method before she was prepared to accept an operation. Now, however, when she had lived with Parkinson for more than twenty years she was ready to accept DBS. Her problems had worsened and the surgical method was more established today than it was when she was deliberating on this at the first

time. Her initial negative reply to experimental or innovative brain surgery she explained quite frankly as caused by plain fear of receiving this kind of intervention, especially when the method had not been performed on that many patients yet. "In that way", she reflected, "I do not have such great confidence in research." Regarding a future possibility of taking part in stem cell trials, she answered that the very thought that someone was to "poke about in the brain" made her scared.

Moving Along with Life and Science

In this article I have explored how individuals with Parkinson's disease relate to science and to their own possible or actual participation in clinical trials. Based on Kathy Charmaz's (1991) analytical perspective on self, time and chronic illness, Michel Foucault's (1988, 2002) attention to the care of the self and to technologies of the body, Michel de Certeau's (1984) concept of tactic mobility, and Tim Ingold's (2007, 2011) understanding of life as a continuous movement along entangled lines, I have focused on how PD individuals utilize time in different ways in order to move tactically and navigate strategically, emotionally and with responsibility in relation to science. Articulations of mobility, a sort of moving along with life and science simultaneously, have been crucial for understanding how individuals with PD relate to the panoptic places and the powerful organizers of clinical trials.

Analytically the article started by presenting a background where cell transplantations to PD patients are described as a historical development step-by-step, from the 1980s until today. As my informants with PD responded to the information on these early trials, a sort of juggling with the past and a monitoring of the self in order to maintain the body and steer towards health improvement arose. In this way the strategic handling of one's own body in connection to information becomes fundamental for how tactic mobility is enacted by individuals in relations with and in movements towards science. Central for how the contact with clinical science works is an industry of hopes where a self is constituted in different forms of negotiated connections with, or withdrawals from, the powerful forces of science. The university hospital as a sort of enemy territory has a key role for how these connections take place in a multitude of ways. Since sharing time with science is always a sort of expenditure for the actual trial participants, questions about timing and awaiting one's possible participation are often on the agenda for those who are either outside or inside in relation to what the clinical trials can offer. In the end of my analysis the inexorable degeneration of the body of the PD individuals is linked to a certain attention to the tempo of science and life. The cultural practice of synchronizing the self with science becomes the foundation of how one as a patient either aligns oneself with or dis-matches oneself from science. On the basis of these two major orientations individuals negotiate their own in/voluntary movements into the illness with how they perceive the tempo of science. Synchronizing as a practice is formed from below, and since it involves tactic mobility, it is a profoundly temporal way of relating to uncertain surroundings. It can comprise resistance and rejection, but is principally a manner of

accepting, collaborating and waiting in relation to the demands and expectations that are present in trial contexts.

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Fieldwork

Between April and December 2015, semi-structured interviews, based on informed consent, were conducted on 16 separate occasions, mainly in southern Sweden, with 16 individuals with Parkinson's disease and eight family members of these individuals in total. Regarding the individuals with PD, there were seven women and nine men. They were aged 44 to 75. Duration of illness for these individuals differed from two years to twenty-two years. Among the family members there were five women and three men, who were between 65 and 80 years old. All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim.

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Notes

1 This article was written within the research project "The Two Horizons of Research: Cultural Analysis of How Patients and Scientists Face Each Other in Clinical Trials within the Research on Parkinson's Disease", funded by The Swedish Research Council (*Vetenskapsrådet*).

2 Parkinson's disease is a neurodegenerative disease that usually affects persons in their fifties or sixties. It was first described by the British doctor James Parkinson (1755–1824) at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The cause of Parkinson is unknown. The disease is, however, triggered by the successive death of a specific type of cells in the brain, dopamine cells. With the loss of this neurotransmitter dopamine, certain embodied symptoms arise successively: loss of the power of voluntary movement, rigidity, shaking and problems with balance. There are also non-motoric symptoms in the form of depression, tiredness, anxiety, sleeping problems and, in some cases, dementia. Since the 1960s there are different pharmaceutical treatments, including levodopa. These drugs which have an effect on the symptoms but not on the disease itself function well in the beginning, but eventually the effect is reduced and different side effects develop, for example dyskinesias (impairment of voluntary movements). Surgical research is focused on replacing the loss of dopamine cells by transplantation with dopaminergic cells from different sources (Hagell 2004:78ff.).

3 For these clinical trials to happen, it was necessary that the Swedish government in 1986 established provisional guidelines for the use of tissue from aborted foetuses (Barker *et al*. 2013:84).

4 Positron emission tomography (PET) is a biomedical technology for observing and mapping the interior of the human body. It is one of those visualization technologies that in the last few decades have revolutionized biomedicine's possibilities to observe and map processes in the brain and the body overall (see e.g. Waldby 2000; Liljefors 2012). Regarding Parkinson's disease PET scans, together with another camera technology called single-photon emission computed tomography (SPECT), are useful for studying the progress of the disease in the brain and to measure graft survival after cell transplantation (Hagell 2004:80–81).

5 Another effect of the NIH-funded studies was the ethical debate that followed the trials. The debate concerned the fact that placebo had been used in the two studies. Participants be-

longing to the control groups had experienced a procedure where a hole was drilled in the skull, but no active tissue was implanted into the brain. Patients' organizations and some individual doctors were critical of this kind of sham surgery that harmed participants physically without implanting any cells (Galpern *et al*. 2012; Cohen *et al*. 2012; Idvall 2017).

6 Stem cells are associated with three kinds of potency: totipotency, pluripotency and multipotency. Totipotent cells produce all the cells in an organism in development. Pluripotent cells can give rise to any kind of body cells, but not to cells of the placenta. Multipotent stem cells have lost their pluripotency and can only provide certain types of body cells (Devolder 2015:4).

7 The inaccessibility concerned not only the fact that there was often a shortage of research material since several donors (read: aborted foetuses) were needed for each cell transplant. A barrier for the technique was moreover a political and ethical debate that tended to be re-activated now and then and which was mainly about the abortion as event itself, whether it should be allowed or not, but also about whether the human foetus can be used for scientific purposes of different sorts. In many countries anti-abortion and pro-life movements made the context for foetal neuron cell transplant research uncertain (Idvall 2017).

8 Unlike the NIH studies in the 1990s, however, Mikael and the other trial participants in the control group were not going to receive any placebo surgery.

9 Deep Brain Stimulation (DBS) surgery may help against different symptoms of Parkinson's disease, including involuntary movements of the body (dyskinesias). It is a technique that has been developed since the 1980s, involving the implantation of electrodes through which electrical impulses are sent to different parts of the brain.

10 That this time investment may be life-long is underlined by the fact that some of the previous research subjects that took part in the early trials have been subject to autopsy after their death in order to check scientifically the cell transplants in the brain.

11 Waiting and waiting-time have been discussed as cultural phenomenon in ethnological literature recently; see for example Ehn & Löfgren (2010) and Beckman (2009). For an example that deals with waiting and health care and specifically haemodialysis and patienthood, see Gunnarson (2016); and for an example that discusses scientific delays and suspense from the viewpoint of researchers in a cell transplant context, see Wiszmeg (2016).

12 In medical anthropology a distinction is made between two sorts of death. On the one hand there is "biological death", which means "end of the human organism", and on the other hand "social death" which implies "the end of the person's social identity" (Helman 2007: 231).

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Kinaesthetic Dispositions and Cultural Knowledge

Tracking Change and Continuity by Analysing Movement

By Miia-Leena Tiili

The Immobile Landscape

On a late spring evening in 2008, I interviewed a young officer who was on duty at a Coast Guard Station. I had come to the station to collect research material for a dissertation on organisational culture in the Gulf of Finland Coast Guard District, an administrative unit of the Finnish Border Guard. When the informant and I discussed the winter season and the officers' leisure activities, he brought up the tranquillity he experienced at an archipelago station.

> Officer Antti: There (at the Coast Guard station X), have you, or you most certainly have sat at that table, and there on the other side, where there are two chairs at the window so that you can see down to the bay. And the boys, they sit there (laughter) and watch (laughter) and say "Oh yes!", when a seagull flies forward and backwards and the trees come into bud. (laughter)
> Miia-Leena: (knowing the room and the situation, laughter) Is this something you feel is strange or…
> Antti: Yes, a little bit (laughter) it would really feel strange (to sit here), one must say. (5009:9)

Obviously, the informant found it hard to imagine himself sitting at the window, looking at a landscape where only the seasons and the seagulls offered variety. The scene was in sharp contrast to his professional expectations and previous experiences. At the beginning of the interview, he had related his experiences of a good working week when the coast guard patrols constantly had call-outs.

Even if the informant's narrative was rather mocking, it was thanks to discussions of this nature that I came to notice the diversity of rhythms, movements, and body postures during the Coast Guards' operations. The coast guard officers were used to describing their tasks, environments, and units by mentioning what kind of movements the situations were characterised by, and what kind of bodily practices they evoked. Body posture seemed to be loaded with meaning. This made me wonder what kind of cultural meanings the corporeal patterns of everyday activities gave expression to.

In the following, I will investigate the relationship between bodily knowledge and cultural knowledge. Through a number of theoretical approaches, I explore how the bodily and the cultural reflect each other and how this interaction shapes cultural knowledge. Further, I strive with the help of my research material to show how, by noticing routine movement, we can reveal self-evident basic cultural assumptions. The overall aim of this article is to present how, by paying attention to bodily movement, the analysis of cultural change and continuity in working life can be deepened. In my view, analysing movement increases our understanding of cultural knowledge in organisations and thus provides insights to support leading change. As regards theory, the article is linked to a phenomenological framework, and it can be read as an example of phenomenological cultural analysis (Frykman 2012).[1]

The article is based on participant observation in the Coast Guard operational units – coast guard stations, patrol vessels, border control units and a crime prevention unit – during the years 2007–2009 and also interviews with 30 people during the years 2003–2012 (KyM 2748; 3624; 5009).[2] The research material concerns patrols, call-outs, border control, maintenance, education, training, leisure activities and family life, and it covers a total of 170 people's perceptions of everyday life in

the Coast Guard. The informants were mainly born between the 1960s and the 1980s, and represent all the military personnel groups and units of the Coast Guard.

Cultural Diversity in a Military Organisation

Work and professions have been popular research topics in ethnology, and the terms *professional culture* and *organisational culture* have been defined in several contexts. Somewhat generalised, the terms refer to practices, habits, values, and identities that arise within a profession or organisation. Nevertheless, for a long time researchers have asserted that cultures cannot be regarded as closed, monolithic systems (Ehn & Löfgren 2012; Paaskoski 2015; Silvén 2004). Instead, cultures should be understood as dynamic processes: "Culture is something that becomes, not something that is", states Jonas Frykman (2012:27).

Knowledge on the dynamic nature of culture is intriguing in respect of the Finnish Border Guard military order, with its diverse activities and multi-professional working communities. The Border Guard is a law enforcement authority whose main tasks are border surveillance, cross-border crime prevention and carrying out border checks at border crossing points. In addition, the Border Guard conducts, for example, search and rescue (SAR) operations and transportation of patients. The activities of the Border Guard are divided into nine administrative units, i.e. border and coast guard districts, with a total of 2716 employees. Of the approximately 500 people who work in the Gulf of Finland Coast Guard District over 90% are in military service, and of the military personnel 2.6% are women (www.raja.fi).

The administrative units have employees from several occupational groups with different training, tasks and professional identities. The military workforce consists of commissioned officers, warrant officers and border and coast guards. Within the Border Guard, the established ways of thinking emphasise the group differences and distinctiveness, making them seem like cultural islands or separate subcultures. Nevertheless, officials from different personnel groups work together and spend long periods in relatively closed communities, for example, on patrol vessels and on island stations. One can assume that this creates a common professional context, where action and individual experience can be similar regardless of the employee's military rank and personnel group.

Military organisations strive to thoroughly define and standardise practices that are introduced as military discipline. However, in previous research, differences have been noticed that can exist between order and practice (Hockey 1986; Pipping 1947; Wollinger 2000). Actions and attitudes often appear different depending on the situation that individuals find themselves in. To describe the two parallel realities that seem to exist in the same organisation the concepts of *an official* and *unofficial organisation* have been used. The official organisation, which is given expression through laws and regulations, is based on a clear hierarchy and unambiguous behaviour. In unofficial settings, e.g. during recreation and between the staff members, these practices and ideas can nonetheless be questioned and

reinterpreted. The phenomenon is well known in various organisational and military contexts (Hockey 1986; Hoikkala & Salasuo & Ojajärvi 2009; Mälkki 2008; Ojajärvi 2015; Wollinger 2000).

The basis of my interest in work and embodiment lies in the questions concerning problematical categories and classifications such as official–unofficial and personnel groups. On the levels of action and experience there is no clear dividing line between the different categories; rather they are diffuse and ambiguous. In the coast guard practices, cultural influences are merged from the official and controlled zone as well as the unofficial and uncontrolled zone. The practices have no fixed meaning; the meaning is rather something to be negotiated individually and collectively in connection with everyday work and the profession. An occupation forms a field of activity (Silvén 2004), which drives working individuals to learn for themselves, orientate themselves and, both physically and mentally, to take a stance on things and occurrences (Frykman 2012:20; Ehn & Löfgren 2012: 9, 30, 41). From this perspective, knowing is localised in practice (Pink 2009:34–36), and it is the embodied practices that join together different needs, motivations, and influences (Lande 2010; Mälkki 2008:51; Wolkowitz 2006:19–20).

Knowing with the Body and within the Body

Even the everyday practice of the border guard officers can be analysed on the basis of this claim. To illustrate the border and coast guard practices and to demonstrate how these theoretical inputs can be applied to ethnographic materials, I will provide two examples from my research material. I will return to them after introducing the concept of bodily knowledge.

Case 1. A call-out, August 2007

The phone rings at the coast guard station at 1:00 a.m. Someone has called emergency because a group of drunken people have just left an island nearby by boat, and they pose a danger to both themselves and others. The officer on duty calls the other officers. They are soon awake, and together we hurry down to the pier. We head out with the Avon [a fast RIB]. After some driving we stop the engines and wait in the middle of the bay. The night is warm and calm, and it is very silent. Soon we can see a small boat approaching. The officers put on the blue alarm light and get ready to stop the boat.

The driver and the passengers are drunk. The boat is in bad condition, there are bottles and garbage everywhere. We head back to the station and take the driver to a breathalyser test. The test is performed by another officer who lives nearby and has been on stand-by at home. He is trying his best to wake up; he is blinking his eyes while he addresses the driver in a formal tone. His hair is fluffy and he has got some imprints from the pillow on his cheek.

Later we hear that someone has been left behind, and we have to pick him up. We head out, reach the island, and find the right person. He is not willing to leave. The officer next to me is waiting while his colleague does the talking. He is serious and keeps up the appearances, but I can see him gnash his teeth in the dark.

At 3:50 a.m. the call-out is over, but the patrol leader is still filling in the forms and records. There is plenty to do and the system does not work properly. There are no other people present, and the officer is very frustrated. We leave him swearing at the office and go to bed. The sun is rising when I walk across the yard (Field notes 1:16–17).

Case 2. Performing border checks at the first line, November 2007

I am sitting with two border guard officers in a passport control booth waiting for the ferry to ar-

rive. There is an empty hall in front of us, and more booths with officers next to us on both sides. Soon we can see hundreds of passengers disembarking. The doors open and the people flow reach the terminal. Queues start building up in front of the booths. The passengers come one by one to the booth and hand their passports through a wicket in the window. The officer leafs it through and hands it back. The procedure is accompanied by monotonous greetings: "Hello. Thank you. Here you are. Good afternoon, thank you. Please. Hello." The officer opens the gate after each traveller, and the booth shakes every time.

I look at the men sitting in front of me. The first officer, Aki, is smiling and greets the travellers cheerfully. The other one, Timo, is looking serious. He holds his hand by the wicket with his palm up, as if he was trying to say: give it to me, hurry up.

A middle-aged man comes to the hall waving a bottle of rum and singing merrily. He stumbles, and looks ashamed when he comes to the booth. Officer Timo is as stolid as before when he performs the border check (Field notes 1:31–32).

The passages depict the tasks and surroundings in marine units and in border control units, which differed from each other in several ways. At the stations the officers usually went out to the archipelago for call-outs. They co-operated with their colleagues, and met citizens in various circumstances. In border control units at the so-called *first line* the duties were performed in glassed-in booths. The excerpts also portray the professional conduct for officials working in the Border Guard. They should remain neutral and correct in front of the public.

In working life, actions and body postures are seldom arbitrary, as routines are governed by norms, materiality, and functional requirements. They form a manuscript for professional choreographies (Silvén 2008:112). At the same time, the patterns of movement create reality and meaning.

The philosopher Jaana Parviainen has written about how we know in, with, and through our bodies. To explain our production of knowledge, she uses the concepts of *bodily knowledge* and *kinaesthetic knowledge* (Parviainen 2002:19–20; 2006:31–32; 2010:324). The concepts concern the body's ability to produce and perceive movement while acting intelligently in interaction with its environment. Bodily knowledge does not exist "inside" the corporeal body, but is an intertwining of the individual and the world, inside and outside; it is not static knowledge but active knowing, that occurs through the body's movement in the material world. In my interpretation, the terms *practical, bodily knowledge* (Olsson 2003:39), *the body's intelligence* (Fundberg 2003: 87–90), and *embodied cognition* (Frykman 2012:77–78) are related to Parviainen's definition of bodily knowledge. All the terms referred to aim at the knowledge that we ingest physically and sensually and that creates the intuitions and feelings we can trust (Frykman 2012:27, 77). We have a corporeal consciousness, which makes the world understandable to us (Sheets-Johnstone 2011:xxi, 53, 62, 128).

For an ethnologist, a very interesting question is how bodily knowledge reflects the cultural. The anthropologist Jaida Kim Samudra (2008) has conducted researched into how cultural knowledge is transmitted bodily in dance, music, sports, and religion. According to her, there are many practices that are based on the exercise of certain body techniques and therefore can be called *kinaesthetic cultures*. Samudra argues that the kinaesthetic also always

includes socio-cultural meanings that the individuals in the group are involved in. Somatic experience is not limited to the individual body, as motion is always an interaction, a form of learning and a transmission of information, a sort of social history of living bodies (Samudra 2008: 677–678). Bodily knowledge and *cultural knowledge* overlap and blend together.[3]

Cultural knowledge is transparent: it is not conscious or unconscious, but consists of implicit meaning that is created and repeated in actions (Hervik 1994:83). Bodily practices are incorporated in the human habitus and they determine the individual's perception of his/her self, and his/her relationship with the outside world (Fundberg 2003:22, 34–36, 90). Repeated movements produce a silent, bodily logic, that affects our thoughts and actions (Olsson 2003). Therefore, attitudes and body postures are basically inseparable (Utriainen 1999:45). They do not have a complete, unaltered and universal significance (Laukkanen 2012:175), but they contain knowledge that we discuss and convey purely bodily in the learned everyday patterns of movement. Movements and positions are never insignificant, but have consequences.

The Correct Posture

During the fieldwork, for example during the call-out presented previously, I noticed how an officer who met a citizen in the course of carrying out a task would typically lean slightly forward, with legs apart and hands resting on his/her equipment belt. This *address position* is a position that is characteristic of the police, the military, and the private security sector, and it is also used in the Border Guard. As well as work colleagues and civilians being present, the uniform and the working tools steer the officers' bodies towards a stance that expresses readiness, ability and professionalism. By means of their bodies the border guard officers strive to communicate a neutral attitude, something that could be characterised as *expressionless objectivity*. At the same time as this lack of expression hides personal thoughts, reactions, and feelings, it also signals a control over the situation and a readiness to act both outwardly to the public and to the officer him/herself (Lande 2010:73–75, 203–205).

This normative bearing can be considered as the type of *gesture* that the literary scholar Carrie Noland (2009:3, 8) speaks about. With this concept Noland refers to all body movements that evoke kinaesthetic feedback and further agency. She sees the gesture as a dynamic link between man and the world. The gesture is a meeting point for the individual and culture; the nodal point where culture (the imposition of bodily techniques), neurobiology, and embodied experience overlap and inform one another. Noland's thoughts are similar to the views on posture of Terhi Utriainen (1999:27, 49, 54), a researcher in the study of religion. According to Utriainen, the social, the cultural and the subjective are united by *stance*. The subjective experience is filled with significance in encounters between individuals and the world, implications flow into the body when we move and, vice versa, meaning is embodied in movements. In other words, ideas are realised as movements (Frykman 2012:163).

It is not only their individual movements that shape the officers' self-knowl-

edge, but the communities' collective choreographies also have importance. When my informants spoke about their everyday lives in the Coast Guard they depicted both the waiting for something to happen and the call-outs that create variation in operational activities and pace. They said that this was reflected in body posture, and described how staff could unbelievable quickly pull themselves together and transform into trustworthy officers (3624:3, 4; 5009:5, 9, 11, 15). I too witnessed this type of metamorphosis during the fieldwork:

> We are watching TV when the alarm phone rings. Everyone becomes quiet and looks at officer Janne, who answers. Mika gets up looking alert. Matias, who had just been lying on the couch, also gets up. As Janne grabs a pen Mika takes hold of his equipment belt that is on the back of his chair and begins to put it on. Then, Janne holding the mobile phone bends towards us and whispers: "We are going out, but no rush" (Field notes 2:40).

As the alarm came in the officers already started preparing for the mission by observing each other's faces, gestures and single words. A step towards the map, a look or a keyword told the others where the patrol would go and what equipment was needed. This allowed the patrol to appear as an organism, a *collective body* (Hockey 2002:150–151, 157, 164–165) or a *complete body* (Hoikkala *et al*. 2009:24; Ojajärvi, 2015:36, 90). The terms refer to situations in which the individual body does not only exist as a separate item but is connected to a larger whole. A complete body is based on a silent dialogue and a knowing that occurs between bodies (*intercorporeal knowing*, Pink 2009:18–19; also Olsson 2003:63, 240, 257–259).

The historian William McNeill (1995: 5–7) describes in his book *Keeping Together in Time* how collective, synchronised movements affect people. According to McNeill, we are born with an innate ability to discern and recognise movement. Since individuals can move and perceive movement even before birth then movement is our quiet "mother tongue": it is itself thinking, knowledge, and the basis for all learning (Sheets-Johnstone 2011: xxxi, 116–119, 139, 195, 210–211, 223, 233–234); see also Ingold 2011:13, 150). Moving in groups creates physical togetherness and team spirit, which McNeill calls *muscular bonding*. In many situations, the ability is vital and it helps people achieve results in hunting, warfare, politics, and religion.

The Coast Guard seem to have many tasks that require a certain corporeal sensitivity to be able to notice motion and act correctly in the group. The field operations are based on learned patterns of movement, "motor algorithms" (Warnier 2001:9), that are trained in the education instruction and thereafter annually in conjunction with different courses concerned with e.g. tactics, power use and maritime SAR. The research material seems to confirm the interpretation that military cohesion has its origin in the communities' bodily practices (Lehtinen 2014a). The "existential style" of the soldier is based on the group's joint motion and actions (Lehtinen 2014b:207–208; see also Grundvall 2005:173–174).

On the basis of the research material, obvious cultural assumptions can be distinguished that in coast guard communities are highlighted both verbally and physically. Operational activities have for long been based on certain choreographies and motor algorithms, e.g. expressionless

objectivity, rapid departures, and routines of a professional collective body, which construct a normative "we-ness" (Lehtonen & Koivunen 2011:38; Wollinger 2000:136). These formed an established ethos that became visible when new tasks were introduced and work conditions changed.

Conflicts

The Finnish Coast Guard's history began in 1930 when a military surveillance organisation was founded to combat smuggling, guard the sea borders and be responsible for search and rescue operations. After World War II the Coast Guard was merged with the Border Guard. The period from the early 1990s to 2010 is characterised by changes in the Coast Guard organisation as well as in their core functions. The introduction of the border control as a new function especially aroused resistance among staff. The Border Guard organisation took over this task from the police and a Passport Control Department was established in the Gulf of Finland Coast Guard District in the beginning of the 1990s. During the following years tens of border guards and coast guards were ordered from the land and sea borders to new, large units at the capital's border crossing points. Instead of period work at the stations, staff began doing shift work far from home in unestablished working communities with a high turnover of staff, and newcomers, who thought they would be working at coast guard stations and on patrol vessels, were sent to passport control lines. Even though the arrangement was described as temporary, many had to remain in these positions for over ten years.

The situation led to serious adjustment difficulties which were later discussed openly (Sundbäck 2005:361–362). In the research material, there are dramatic examples of the difficulties that the "passport control officers" had to struggle with. The informants spoke of fatigue, loneliness, futile applications to be transferred, alcohol abuse, various mental and physical symptoms, and four or five people committed suicide (Field notes 1:13–14; 2:49, 52; 5009:12, 21). When the employees discussed the difficulties, they usually blamed the misleading recruitment information and inadequate leadership (3624: 2, 5009:14; Field notes 2:66; 3:69, 72). However, these reasons do not explain the resistance reflected in my ethnographic research material from 2009.

Officials in the border control units did not hide their aversion to border checks at the first line. On the contrary, it seemed to be permissible and fitting to stress the resistance in discussions with the researcher. The informants sometimes explained that they did not understand the travel documents, that they were bad at this work, that it was impossible to know all the rules and that they would rather work elsewhere (Field notes 2:47, 3:69, 81). At one point, a border guard waved the travel document of a third-country national above his head and hissed "I don't understand a word of this!" (Field notes 2:46).

What made my informants emphasise their incompetence and unprofessional attitude? The border guards' critical opinions, in my interpretation, did not reveal the pros and cons of the work itself, but expressed a discrepancy between the officials' kinaesthetic experiences and cultural knowledge. They were a means of

dealing with cultural friction at the same time as indicating a cultural competence by communicating knowledge about which tasks and working conditions could be considered appropriate, and which undesirable.

Gestures and movements are linked to the materiality surrounding individuals. In addition, bodily knowledge is also dependent on the situation and what one comes into contact with (Frykman 2012: 27, 116). Each environment has its own peculiar movements, caused by the forces of nature, things and living beings, that we interact with. Parviainen (2006:30–31; 2010:320) calls these mobile environments *kinaesthetic fields*. The concept focuses attention on the routineness of the rhythms and movements in working life and can help us expose how officials portrayed cultural change and continuity.

When my informants reflected on their work they talked at the same time about what the different working environments demanded of the working body. What happened was that they pondered and found words for cultural change on a physical and experiential plane. In the marine units, the officials worked surrounded by wind, waves, shaking and heaving boats as well as sea-goers, who followed or did not follow instructions. The operations were characterised by the informants as unforeseeable events, creativity and cooperation. In the border control unit, the kinaesthetic field was different. For example, at Helsinki-Vantaa airport, where the Coast Guard is responsible for the border control, the characteristics of kinaesthetic environment did not come from forces of nature but from crowds of queuing people at the security checkpoints, from passengers rushing for their flights, from impatient glances toward the monitors and from planes taking off and landing. Working in the middle of this complex field of motion were the Border Guards, who, depending on their task, followed the movement at a distance or interacted with it.

According to my understanding, there was a connection between the various units' kinaesthetic fields and the cultural knowledge as to which tasks were perceived as "good" and which "bad". Officials ranked the coast guard functions on the basis of the gestures, postures and movements that the operations and the everyday work produced. At the beginning of the article the discussion with an informant was an example of this. By emphasising action and rapid departures, he showed that he appreciated movement rather than static existence and sitting. Similar views were typical of all the military personnel groups and age groups in the Coast Guard.

Coast guard Niko: I don't like all the office work and stuff; I like to be out and be active and do things and be with different people (5009:13).

Border guard Essi: I'm such an active and nervous person that I must do something other than just sitting in the booth (Field notes 2:48).

Warrant Officer Tapani: I really enjoyed being at the big coast guard stations where you could go and do things and be involved in the activities. I have never really been an office worker. – You had to go after the slightest occurrence and it was that [that I liked], especially when you got to be involved in different incidents, that was what I liked most (3624: 4).

Commissioned Officer Tuomo: I've always had that kind of interests. – I have always been active outdoors and thought that an indoor job wasn't something for me. I actually managed to avoid

service at the Coast Guard Headquarters for quite some time. And I must say that I still don't really like it either, even though it is in itself also a good job, but I don't like it so much. Nowadays, I have administrative duties but I also get to go out in the field sometimes (5009:20).

These statements should not be taken as truisms, for it was by no means so that only active outdoor jobs were regarded as valued tasks. Nevertheless, they reveal that a practical approach combined with an active ideal was so culturally dominant that the civil servants, regardless of their role and profession, always talked about and reflected on the importance of movement. The awareness that being active should be appreciated was included in the coast guard officers' collective knowledge and formed a "sounding board" (Hoikkala 2009a:47) whose echo shaped the individual experience.

Commissioned Officer Matti: It was like this, when I went to the office after working on the patrol vessel and then after I had been there for some time I was sent back to the ship to stand-in for the boss. And it felt like yippee, back to a real man's job from the shore! But it was the first or second night I lay there in the cabin and thought [laughing] where do I hang the rope, and, I mean [laughs] that I don't like this anymore. And it was a surprise. To see how, in a way, I had grown out of a job and didn't want to do it anymore, something that I had previously thought was very interesting and good (5009:1).

Within a cultural context, where maritime service was considered "a real man's job", the border control units were peculiar. Sitting in the first line and examining passengers' travel documents was described by the informants as the opposite of meaningful work. In the Coast Guard, active, practical and autonomous work were decent tasks while border checks were considered a "shit job" (5009:1, 13, 14). While the coast guard officers, in the marine units patrolled and went out with patrol vessels, snowmobiles, and hovercrafts, their colleagues in the border control units sat in their booths performing passport checks day in and day out. The material conditions in the first line – the booth, the seat and the glass window where the passengers show their travel documents – steered not only the passengers' movements, but also restricted the officials' freedom of movement and possibility to express control. It was also a noticeable fact that at the first line the officials met the travellers alone. Although the control booth had two spaces and officials sat side by side, they took care of the border checks independently.

During the fieldwork, I noticed that the staff of the border control department often mentioned chairs and sitting in the discussions. The border and coast guards spoke about good and bad chairs, about office chairs that were broken due to being constantly adjusted and about musculoskeletal disorders. Perhaps it was so that the seats aroused feelings and were present in the narrative because they manifested the typical working position, sitting. From this point of view, chairs can be interpreted as the cultural accelerators or key symbols discussed by Jonas Frykman and Nils Gilje (2003:46; see also Ehn & Löfgren 2004:21; Hammarlin 2008:121–123).

Paths of Reluctance

Alongside the formal practices within the coast guard, there arose an informal set of practices directed against the employer's expectations and official conduct. This

was seldom a question of the officials directly refusing to perform tasks, although some people used to make themselves scarce in order to evade tedious tasks like sitting in the first line. They made themselves invisible by going to the gym, the terminals or restaurants and tried to avoid the duty room with the duty officer and colleagues (5009:18). Sometimes, I tried in vain to find officials in the places where, according to the current roster, they should have been working (Field notes 2:49–50, 55).

The phenomenon is an example of the *reluctance* that the ethnologist Susanne Wollinger (2000:74–75) describes in her study of Swedish conscripts. In military organisations individuals learn over time to stretch the boundaries and take liberties, despite the discipline, and often this is done with leaders' tacit approval. Reluctance means, according to Wollinger, both adaptation and resistance, and denotes a cultural knowledge of the grey zone between the permissible and the forbidden (see also Hockey 2002:153; Mälkki 2008:132–133, 170–172). The historian AnnaSara Hammar (2014:273–274), who in her thesis analysed the social order in the Swedish navy during the years 1670–1716, claims that actions appearing to challenge official truths could in fact promote the military order and indicate an adjustment to control. Therefore, the categories of official and unofficial are not opposites, but they assume and maintain each other. The unofficial is a reflection or a shadow of the official (Hoikkala 2009b: 130–131, 174–176, 179).

Besides sneaking away, another activity occurred that the officials called adventuring. Such playful practices became meaningful in relation to the cultural knowledge that stressed mobility as the right way of being, since from a historical point of view the core functions of the Coast Guard were typically mobile and therefore the proper patterns of action.

I sit with Saku at the first line as the night shift begins. Saku is in a good mood and talks happily about typical nights. I ask about negligence: do the staff perhaps have guests or drink alcohol when the nights get long? Saku denies this and says it is not appropriate, but he continues that probably sometimes "there are perhaps one or two things that are a little underhand". The worst offences are sleeping during the shift and "going on an adventure". Saku begins to relate an incident: "One time we found a small door, one of those doors that you barely notice, and don't know why it's there. And when we opened it there were steps leading into darkness, and there was a tunnel so low that you had to crawl. And suddenly there was a large corridor ... We called it Narnia [laughs]." Such an adventure was not allowed but not forbidden either. According to Saku, the most childish officers crept through the maintenance tunnels during the times when there were long breaks between flights and no passengers coming through the border control. "There is also [location X], but you can't go there anymore... it started to become crowded" (Field notes 2:61).

In the coast guard border control units, adventures liberated the border guards from sitting in the glassed-in booths: they offered breaks and respite. The narrow tunnel about which Saku spoke was "a spontaneous path to relative autonomy" (Hockey 2002:153–154). The sociologist Elina Paju (2013:170, 178, 184–185) argues that physical movement can help us to cope with situations that leave little room for creativity and individual actions. Paju, who examined bodily practices in a kindergarten, mentions the classroom activities as examples. The children's wig-

gling, writhing, crawling, and swinging was experienced by the adults as disturbing, but in fact the movements help the children to *cope and understand*. Perhaps adventures were for the officials a way to maintain their right to self-determination in a military organisation. Also the management was well aware that a relative amount of autonomy in fact supported the authority's actual operations (5009:9, 14). Adventuring was appealing for a further reason. It was a collective pursuit, which gave the staff in the border control unit the opportunity to take part in a professional choreography and the complete body, which they could not usually be part of as they sat alone.

I interpret going adventuring and sneaking away as kinaesthetic processes where formal movements and postures are evaluated and reinterpreted. Through movement officials discussed their kinaesthetic experiences in relation to the Coast Guard's cultural knowledge that emphasises action and embodied we-ness. According to the philosopher Maxine Sheets-Johnstone (2011:62–66, 117–118, 129), we find ourselves and our abilities by moving in the world (see also Olsson 2003:246). Therefore, the techniques of the body are also techniques of the self (Warnier 2001:10; Wolkowitz 2006:19). The border guard officers desire to avoid work at the first line and their judgment of it as "shit work" can, based on this, be understood as an effort to maintain harmony and a coherent self-image in a unit where static existence had replaced action. Those who worked with tasks that confirmed this established self-understanding had fewer reasons to show reluctance.

Kinaesthetic Dispositions

Similar to Jaida Kim Samudra, the cultural anthropologist Paula Tuovinen (2006:258–261) has written about body language as culture. According to her cultural patterns are always also motor patterns. Actions produce cultural meanings that are transmitted through motor activity, repetition and imitation. Therefore, the motor body acts as an intermediary in the "the archaeology of activity": culturally defined ways of being, standing, walking, and using gestures and facial expressions, which reflect the influence of past generations. In the terminology of Parviainen (2006:87, 93–94), the concept of *kinaesthetic maps* is aimed at the inter-subjective character of movement. Kinaesthetic maps arise when people compare their kinaesthetic experiences with others through what they see, hear and read. Mimi Sheller and John Urry (2006:216) speak of a "sensual and emotional geographies" that we generate through motion. This is not confined to individual bodies but includes spaces, actions, and cultures that contain special *kinaesthetic dispositions*, ways, styles and abilities to move and perceive motion.

The Coast Guard kinaesthetic dispositions compile and provide cultural knowledge about the profession. The dispositions are built up over a long period of time and include insights into adequate professional choreographies, positions and stances that embody a certain relationship to the world. Although kinaesthetic dispositions are often unstated they are a significant part of the professional capital, which the ethnologist Leena Paaskoski (2008:79–80) calls professional inheritance. Professionalism cannot be interpret-

ed as merely kinaesthetic dispositions, but the concept explains why cultural knowledge can still reflect reluctance when individual working bodies start to master new environments and tasks. As the research material shows, changes in the core functions and the operational environment aroused strong negative feelings among the border and coast guards. To move or to be still in a certain environment always has an affective dimension (Sheller & Urry 2006; also Laukkanen 2012:242; Parviainen 2010:317).

The kinaesthetic dispositions of working life are not constructed in a vacuum, but they are formed in relation to general perceptions of time, space, and gender. Although I did not here examine the gender perspective, I want to state by way of a summary that the problems surrounding the border control show a discrepancy between first line postures and the border guards' perceptions of masculinity. In many professions, technological developments and changes are experienced as a threat to the entrenched gender roles and "outdoor masculinity" (Aurell 2001: 72–73; Paju 2013:70–173; Wolkowitz 2006:85). Doreen Massey (2008:166–167) and Carol Wolkowitz (2006:67) mention the British mining industry restructuring in the 1970s and '80s as an example. Despite the high unemployment, male miners refused to accept new types of industrial work if it meant that they would work in a sitting position at a conveyor belt.

Terhi Utriainen (1999:171–172) suggests that postures explain gender roles even within the healthcare industry. To provide care often involves a sitting or stooped position, which is perceived as the opposite of active doing and makes healthcare seem feminine, explains Utriainen. Sitting is static and timid, and therefore represents a feminine way of being (Young 1980) (see also Fundberg 2003:186–187; Lande 2010:29; Paju 2013:123, 200).

It was this posture that the coast guard officers disliked, and which in my opinion was the reason why the first line border checks were seen as "shit work". In light of embodied cultural meanings, this relegation of the first line work is associated with western *gender cartography* (Massey 2008:179). The concept refers to men's free and women's limited mobility and patterns of movement that confirm the prevailing gender order. The border and coast guard officers' perceptions of what was a "decent job" was constructed on the basis of a cultural model story where the man goes out and the woman remains (even Mälkki 2008:83; O'Dell, 2004: 115–116; Tallberg 2009:156–157, 164). Corresponding observations that autonomous and active tasks have a high status have been made in earlier research on other professions in the transport, forestry, and port industries (Nehls 2003:74–75; Steel 2013:124–126), the Rescue Services (Mankkinen 2011:162–163, 170, 176) and the Armed Forces (Mälkki 2008:191–192). As we have seen, the processes of meaning-making have a material basis. According to the social psychologist Suvi Ronkainen (1999:214–215, 225), space and place create and exclude identities and subjectivities. For example, if women cannot walk alone at night the city spaces become culturally designated for men (see also Silvén 2004:150–151). When it is taken into account that most of the women

who worked in the Coast Guard in military service were employed at the first line, it is not surprising that the border control maintained its reputation as a female and thus a subordinate task.

Concluding Discussion

In my article, I have examined how, by noticing physical movement, we can portray cultural processes and deepen our understanding of change and continuity in working life. I have used the concepts of bodily, kinaesthetic, and cultural knowledge to show how the military personnel in the Coast Guard orientate themselves towards different tasks in their occupational field of activity. The terms were defined in a phenomenological framework. According to phenomenological oriented thinking the physical and cultural overlap each other. *Cultural knowledge is bodily knowledge and movement a way of knowing.*

In her research on the work of professional painters, the ethnologist Eva Silvén (2004:128–129, 142) points out that the concept of bodily knowledge can lead to the individual's subjectivity and agency being highlighted, while the critical social perspectives and questions about power and responsibility are reduced to the background. Knowing is associated with knowledge and skills, and therefore has a positive connotation. This, Silvén argues, makes us easily forget that the working body is also an object. Workers usually have few opportunities to influence their work environment and the external conditions of their work. For example, a painter is at a high risk of being exposed to chemicals and solvents that in the worst case can cause chronic diseases and injuries. Silvén's criticism is important when it is directed against the term bodily knowledge being used as a synonym for craftsmanship. On the other hand, I feel that bodily knowledge is not introspective or bound to an individual perspective. Rather the term invites insights concerning the relationship between people and the world, and it emphasises mutual influences. The working body is both an object and an active producer of cultural and kinaesthetic knowledge (Kinnunen & Seppänen 2009). Bodily knowledge also has an inter-subjective nature, which constitutes the basis for professional kinaesthetic dispositions and maps.

Research into gestures, expressions, and body postures helps us to put cultural knowledge into words and to understand how embodied cultural truths shape everyday activities and experiences. To understand the connections between the cultural and the kinaesthetic is essential if we want to understand the different reactions that changes can produce in professional life.

When people interact with their material and social surroundings they discuss and reinterpret at the same time the cultural influences. This means that any practice includes the possibility of both change and continuity (Frykman 2012:27; Noland 2009:14–15). Contradictions between new information and cultural convictions have concrete implications, as the border guard's reluctance showed. This reminds us that the employers' perceptions of the personnel's compliance and adaptability may seem unrealistic in light of the ethnographic material (Wolkowitz 2006:67). In the Coast Guard the field operations, over a long period, had produced certain kinds

of professional choreographies and kinaesthetic dispositions that imparted knowledge of the profession. This knowledge was questioned when new tasks were introduced. In particular, the first line border checks meant a questioning of the staff's professional self-understanding and the function was therefore experienced as a cultural anomaly. However, there is reason to point out that reality is always more complex than the analysis describes. Although I have concentrated on conflict and resistance, there were many officials who thrived in the border control units.

Bodily knowledge, kinaesthetic knowledge and cultural knowledge, in my opinion, can offer new perspectives on work, occupations and organisational cultures by overcoming dichotomies such as the official-unofficial and the subjective-objective. My analysis has hopefully given an example of how phenomenological insights can help us identify and perhaps even solve practical problems in working life.

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Notes

1 For me, phenomenology is a way to explore how humans act and produce knowledge in reciprocal action with their environment. I perceive phenomenology as an understanding of being and knowledge as being based on sensory and bodily sensations. I have been especially inspired by the philosophy of Maurice Merleau-Ponty (2002 [1945]).

2 The ethnographic material discussed here derives from my PhD fieldwork. My doctoral thesis in ethnology was presented in April 2016 at the University of Helsinki (Tiili 2016).

3 The latter term has been defined, for example, by folklore researcher Eija Stark (2011: 70–71, 73–77, 369). According to Stark, cultural knowledge implies unified, collective perceptions and linguistic performances expressed in sayings and in patterns of behaviour (such as “taking a sauna once a week”). As a pattern of behaviour always contains both an idea and a practice (that it is *de facto* to have a sauna once a week), I also regard the concept as useful in research directed at the material and bodily dimensions of culture.

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Transnational Work and Family Life from a Local Perspective

An Ethnological Study of Highly-skilled Foreigners' Work and Family Life in Sønderborg, Denmark

By Siri Daa Funder

Introduction

For me, the most important thing is just being happy wherever we are. For me, it's not really depending on the location. For me it's being happy, and the whole family to be together. That we are all feeling satisfaction with where we are and what we are doing. That we do not feel like we are just… Here. (Peter)

On a November night in 2014, I interview Peter (32) and his wife Carmen (32) in their house in the town of Sønderborg in southern Denmark. The American-Mexican couple has worked and lived there for just under two years with their three-year-old son. The family has previously relocated from other countries for work, and therefore, at one point during the interview, I ask them, "So where do you consider 'home'?" Peter's answer to this question in the quotation above piqued my interest in the kind of transnational work and family practice in which a family seems to move across borders as a small mobile unit to take up positions around the world. I decided to investigate this as the main topic of my Master's thesis[1] at the University of Copenhagen and began to recruit more informants who – like Peter and Carmen – practise this kind of transnational work and family life. I ended up interviewing four foreign families living in Sønderborg. The four couples are all highly skilled and moved to Sønderborg as a consequence of concrete job offers. During the interviews, I discovered that even though the families have a transnational character, they are also very much embedded in the local context in which they are situated – in this case, Sønderborg. They are obviously not as "free-floating" as they might appear at first glance. I therefore decided to dig deeper into this form of family and work life that is both transnational and local, in order to understand the rationales behind their transnational practice and behind the decision to move to Sønderborg – at least for a period of time.

This article's main focus is on the specific opportunities and challenges that are present in this transnational and local work and family practice, and it deals with these opportunities and challenges from the families' perspectives. In doing so, different conceptualizations of the relationship between work and family life are examined. It is argued that gaining insight into the familial context of the people in question is crucial to understanding the rationales for being transnational. The role of the accompanying partner becomes particularly interesting in understanding the dynamics of the family as a whole. When moving to a new country, these dynamics may change and can be challenged, which can result in conflicts for the accompanying partner. It is this challenge, especially, that will be explored, as I examine how the family as a whole plays a crucial role for highly-skilled foreign workers in Sønderborg, and how work life simply cannot be conceived and understood independently from family life.

Therefore, the key research questions in this article are: What happens when a family decides to leave the home country and live abroad? What happens to the dynamics within the family when moving to a new country? And what kind of obstacles and opportunities do they meet? These questions will be analysed by applying the ethnological state and life-mode theory. This perspective is an approach to understanding how people's dif-

ferent rationales, challenges and choices are based on their specific life-mode orientations. In doing so, it contributes to an understanding of how people, in different ways, are trying to achieve "the good life".

Context

In recent years, attempts to attract highly-skilled foreign workers have been on the political agenda in Denmark as well as in other Scandinavian countries. This can be seen as a consequence of the competitiveness of a global economy in which knowledge and innovation are key factors for further growth. With the global economy comes the global mobility of labour and the ability of people to move from one place to another around the globe. Thus, highly-skilled labour becomes an important resource in each competing country.

As the focus on and need for highly-skilled workers in Denmark has increased, various reports and studies that seek to uncover how the Danish labour market attracts and retains this workforce have been published. Surveys have been conducted by both public and private organizations, all attempting to identify the challenges of attracting and retaining highly-skilled foreign labour. Interestingly, several of these point out that the inability to retain labour may be due to low measures of well-being within the families who have moved to the country (see e.g. Oxford Research 2010; Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen 2011; Seidelin 2012; Thuesen *et al*. 2011).

Therefore, there needs to be a greater emphasis on the family – on the accompanying partner and children – by, for example, focusing on the school system and opportunities for partners to get jobs. The studies' common denominator is the message that the import of highly-skilled labour is vital if Denmark is to succeed in the global marketplace. This is a view that was, for example, reflected in the government's April 2014 proposal to reform its international recruitment programme, based on claims that Denmark is lagging behind in the worldwide competition for the highly-skilled labour. The same report claimed that Danish society needs these highly-skilled workers, who not only contribute positively to productivity growth in the companies where they are employed, but also contribute to the financing of the public sector (Regeringen 2014).

In my fieldwork, I met four families that as of 2014–15 had lived in Sønderborg for between six months and seven years as skilled foreign workers. The presence of these families in the area is a result of Sønderborg Municipality's attempt in recent years to actively seek to attract highly-skilled foreign workers for the region's private recruiting strategy. One of the major challenges experienced in the region is the lack of jobs for accompanying partners. As a consequence of this, the municipality has in recent years employed a local "settlement coordinator" to help foreign families find housing, the right school or day-care for their children, and – if possible – a job for the accompanying partner. The municipality also works in collaboration with a number of companies and municipalities in the region to improve area companies' opportunities for growth through the attraction, reception and retention of highly-qualified workers. For example, the initiative "Partner Life" is a result of this collaboration – a project

that coordinates and makes visible the professional opportunities for an accompanying partner moving to southern Denmark. In my thesis, I analyse how transnational families' lives can be understood within the framework of the state. I present how different attempts to attract highly-skilled foreign labour to Denmark – in this case, Sønderborg – are made possible. Here, Denmark's effort to attract the highly skilled through national initiatives such as tax schemes for highly-skilled foreigners and partner programmes are central to understanding the tools of attracting and retaining (Funder 2015). Further, these initiatives are analysed in a municipal context in Sønderborg both as an extension of the governmental initiatives and as an expression of specific circumstances related to Sønderborg, such as its geographical location. This indicates that these transnational families cannot simply be understood as independent, free-floating global people, but that they are people dependent on the conditions of the national and local context in which they are situated.

These initiatives also indicate that the well-being of the family as a whole might play a central role in foreigners' decisions to move to and stay in Sønderborg. However, these initiatives are not the focus of this article, as the informants in my material did not pay much attention to them. In fact, some of them did not even know the programmes existed. For highly-skilled personnel, transnational mobility is often seen as an element of their ongoing career advancement, though this is not the only rationale for living a transnational life. From this perspective, it is possible that the kinds of transnational families in focus in this article are not only a particular kind of opportunity for a municipality such as Sønderborg, but also a challenge, due to their transnational and temporal character. On this level it is also possible to point out opportunities and challenges included in the practice in question, within the families.

The accounts of four transnational families, based on fieldwork conducted in Sønderborg, are the main focus of this article. First, I will explain how the informants perceive the specific opportunities that come with the move to Sønderborg. Secondly, I will explain the particular challenges to the informants that also come with the move. Finally, I will discuss these different opportunities and challenges, and in so doing examine different aspects of living "the good life" as defined by the informants.

Presentation of Theory, Method and Material

The analysis is based on the ethnological state and life-mode theory. From a life-mode perspective, it is possible to investigate how individuals' (or subjects') practices and ideologies can point towards different life-mode characteristics, depending on how the means-end relationship in the practice is composed. Thus, it is possible to understand how, for example, highly-skilled foreigners are organized in families in different ways, with different understandings of what constitutes "the good life". In this context, the concept of life-modes serves as a key to understanding participants' choices and priorities, and not as a means to simply classify them. The interesting point, conversely, is that by applying the life-mode concept, it also becomes possible to iden-

tify how different life orientations can lead to specific challenges – for example, between the partners within a family. Moreover, this article suggests that a transnational perspective can give insights into specific kinds of work and family life marked by the opportunities of an open-border regime.

From a structure-dialectical point of departure, the state and life-mode perspective provides an understanding of everyday life – people's lived experiences at work and at home – as an integrated analytical whole. Further, it is possible to relate these lives to a state level, and further to a system of states, which consists of the plurality of states. This represents the multidimensional concept of culture in the state and life-mode theory, in which the relations between the different dimensions constitute the theory itself. Therefore, in an analytical context, it is also necessary to explicate these relations. It is my argument that by combining the state and life-mode theory and a transnational perspective, it is possible to bring this specific kind of migration into focus. This is a transnational life: a life which, in the context of this article, cannot be grasped separately from the state, culture, work and the family. Therefore, it is my approach that the transnational life cannot be understood as something in and of itself, but that transnationality – as a condition – can be incorporated into a conceptual design in combination with the state and life-mode theory. It hereby also becomes possible to point to variations within this specific form of transnational life. However, since this article is primarily devoted to the experiences of transnational families living in Sønderborg, it therefore does not equally develop relations at the state level.

In this article the concept of life-modes is the main analytical tool. The definition of a life-mode is "an independent and self-maintaining praxis which contains its own semantics and its own conceptual system" (Højrup 2003:4). As theoretical concepts three different main life-modes have been identified. A life-mode has its own specific praxis, which is "in turn determined by specific relations of labour in a mode of production. Relations of labour imply the specific concepts of 'end', 'means', 'cause' and 'effect' which together constitute a life-mode's conceptual problematique: What we have tended to call its ideology" (Højrup 2003:126). In this theoretical perspective, a life-mode (with its specific ideology) is, on the one hand, closely related to the concept of work, and, on the other hand, has a great impact on the individuals' everyday lives as it influences their understanding of "the good life" and the means for meeting it (Højrup 2003:22). The three life-modes are life-mode 1, which is the life-mode of the self-employed, life-mode 2, the life-mode of the wage-earner and life-mode 3, the life-mode of the career-professional. In the self-employed life-mode there is no means-end relation, since there is no contrast between work and leisure. Work and leisure are fused in a single act, designed to keep the company in business. In contrast, the wage-earner life mode is characterized by a distinction between work and leisure, which are contrasting concepts. Here, work is a means to an end outside of it, providing an income, which will make it possible for the employee to live a meaningful life beyond work during free

time. Within the career-professional life-mode, work is not understood as the opposite of free time. For bearers of the career-professional ideology work is not the means to an end outside work, but the work is the goal; where the career-professional unfolds himself and his qualifications. Therefore, free time is commonly spend developing personal and professional skills. Work is marked by a uniqueness that can make the career-professional irreplaceable, because his work can not simply be taken over by another (Højrup 2002:418).

This description of the career-professional may appear similar to the type of knowledge-work characterizing the practice of the highly skilled research participants in this article. In the later analysis, however, I will argue that career work may take different forms in different families, and therefore, career work need not only be characterized by this certain uniqueness. Further, female-specific life-modes have been identified in order to understand the role of the spouse and the family. In relation to the wage-earner and the career-professional life-mode, a distinction between a home-front and housewife practice has been constructed. However, it should be noted that the practices are logically complementary to the wage-earner and the career-professional life-mode and, thus, not necessarily related to a female or a male bearer (Højrup 2003:57).

The material was collected in 2014–2015 in Sønderborg and consists of in-depth interviews with four families, conducted in English. Each interview lasted 3–4 hours and included participant observations in the families' homes, since I interviewed the families as they were gathered together, made dinner, while I had dinner with them, and in general as they followed their daily evening routines. Since the children were relatively young, I decided only to interview the parents. The couples are all married and moved to Sønderborg as a consequence of one or more of the partners being offered a job. Three out of the four families had previously relocated from other countries to take up job offers, and thus had previously been in a situation in which they had to settle down somewhere new. For one couple, Caroline (43) and Lennart (50),[2] this is the first time they have lived outside the United States, and they have been in Sønderborg for approximately one year. Caroline and Lennart are from Chicago, USA, and the couple have four children, aged 6–23 years.

Living abroad is not unusual for the second family, Sheryl (43), Carlos (40) and their two sons, who have lived in three different places around the world. Sheryl is from the US, and Carlos grew up in Colombia. Their boys are aged 5 and 8, and before moving to Sønderborg four months previously, they lived in Massachusetts, USA, for four years.

The third family, the Mexican-American couple Carmen and Peter, both 32 years old, lived in Mexico until they moved to Sønderborg two years ago with their – at that time – newborn baby boy. They are both used to living in different parts of the world due to their careers and are now continuing this practice as a family.

The last couple, Mexicans Gabriella and Bautista, both 36, have lived in Sønderborg since 2007. Before they moved to Denmark, they lived together first in Mexico and then in Italy for one year. Gabriella and Bautista are the only couple

that do not have children; however, they plan to start a family within the next few years. Common to all these couples is that both partners were working before the move to Sønderborg. However, the move to Sønderborg has changed this condition for some of the families.

Clarification of Concepts and Positioning

There has been relatively limited research into this highly-skilled labour migration. Generally, research has tended to focus mainly on what might be called low-wage migration (see e.g. Bryceson & Vourela 2002; Fechter 2007). Furthermore, the type of labour migration in focus in this article is not permanent, but temporary migration. These highly-skilled workers and their families intend to move, either back to their country of origin or to a new destination (Coles & Fechter 2008). In this context, highly-skilled migrant labourers are often referred to as mobile and/or trans-migrants rather than as migrants (Basch *et al*. 1994), which will also be the case in this article.

These mobile, highly-skilled workers are most often referred to as expatriates. The term comes from the Latin *ex patria* and refers to someone living outside his or her country of origin (Coles & Fechter 2008). The term has connotations that often are attached to Westerners in particular, and by using this term there might be a risk that the mobile highly-skilled can appear to be a rather homogeneous group. Therefore, this term will not be used here; instead, the state and life-mode theoretical approach will be used in order to understand the range of variation among the highly skilled.

As mentioned above, the argument of this article is that it is necessary to take the whole family into account when studying the transnational lives of the highly skilled. In literature about the theme in question, there has been a tendency to define these transnational or global families as families in which one (or both) parents work abroad, whereas the rest of the family stays in the home country (see e.g. Bryceson & Vourela 2002; Sørensen 2005). The families in the present context can instead be understood as mobile units travelling and settling down around the world together. It should be emphasized, however, that the family as a "mobile unit" is also an ambiguous figure, and this distinction should not be understood as a categorical distinction between either the divided or the whole family.

Moreover, research into the family and its relation to work life has often primarily focussed on what kind of gender roles relate to this specific form of life: for example, how the woman is often regarded as a passive follower in transnational practice, in which she is given the task of taking care of the home, as opposed to the man, who performs work outside the home (Coles & Fechter 2008; Fechter 2007). Thus, these studies have mainly focused on the woman and her gender as being the cause of a particular (unequal) practice, and have not displayed an interest in work and family life as an integrated whole from a conceptual logical starting point.

This article takes a more nuanced view of the family as a sphere that cannot be understood as detached from work life, and where possible differences between the sexes are analysed as life-mode character-

istics and not as gender differences. The article should be read as a contribution to the debate on highly-skilled labour migration and family life. The ethnologists Katarzyna Wolanik Boström and Magnus Öhlander have recently dealt with this issue in the article "Renegotiating Symbolic Capital, Status and Knowledge: Polish Physicians in Sweden" (Boström & Öhlander 2015), which has been an inspiration for this article. As the title reveals, Boström and Ölander's article is based on a Bourdieu-inspired discussion, which emphasizes obstacles that are primarily connected to the work life and strategies for re-establishing professionalism and status in a new cultural setting. The present article is a contribution to this research field; however, the life-mode perspective pursues a focus on work *and* family life in the transnational context. Further, the interest is not to analyse the struggles over symbolic capital and hierarchical positions, but to understand how the families in question create meaning in their lives as mobile, resourceful, highly-skilled migrants. With a focus on how work and family life are transformed, when the family settles down in a new local and national context, the article discusses how the transnational practices can lead to opportunities as well as challenges in the new context, as the transnational practice influences both the ideals of (dual) careers and gender roles in the attempt to live "the good life".

Transnational Condition

Key to the analysis is also the concept of "transnationalism". The concept is broad, and several authors within the field note that it contains different meanings depending on its theoretical and analytical context (Amelina *et al*. 2012:1; Basch *et al*. 1994:4; Kvisto 2001:551). In this context, the need to go beyond the perspective of the nation-state is taken into consideration in order to grasp the consequences of the open-border regime and the nation-state's inherently changeable role. For several decades, transnational approaches have criticized the nation-state perspective, the so-called "container model", of falling victim to methodological nationalism: a criticism raised by, among others, the anthropologist Nina Glick-Schiller, who defines methodological nationalism as the view that "the nation / state / society is the natural social and political form of the modern world" (Wimmer & Glick-Schiller 2003:301). In this view, the nation-state becomes an established analytical line of demarcation around a homogeneous "container" of national culture (Nielsen & Sandberg 2014:26).

It has also been pointed out that there may have been a tendency to particularly emphasize macro-structural conditions in the so-called globalization process, rather than identifying the individual's role in this process (Mau 2010:17). It is relevant to mention – according to the state and life-mode perspective – that "the individual" in the present framework is understood as a subject in specific contexts that include the family, the work and the state, both locally and transnationally. Thus, it may be fruitful to consider the concept of "individual" in the context of the state and life-mode theory, which can provide it with more specific theoretical content: as part of a whole.

This article focuses primarily on families and their members, on how their

practices are composed – understood using different life-mode concepts – and how these practices are both local and transnational.[3] A transnational perspective can provide insight into the way in which the participating families' specific cross-border activities can be understood. Transnationalism is a condition that obviously cannot be understood only in the context of a nation-state. Transnational conditions mean, for example, that Denmark – including Sønderborg – will need to attract highly-skilled workers from all over the world in order to succeed in the international competition. This activity is constantly changing the market and the competition and can thus be said to be characterized by a constant temporality, as companies continuously compete in order to attract the means to outperform each other. The means for this might, in the context of the state and life-mode theory, be characterized as career-work, which is further characterized by the very same kind of temporality because of the career-professional's constant need for new challenges and professional development. To understand this condition, the state and life-mode theory can provide a theoretical understanding of how transnationalism can logically be viewed as the way states attempt to both maintain internal cohesion and recognition in the state system. This, then, is where the subjectivity (and the family) is embedded – in the state contexts it revolves around.

Why Move to Sønderborg? – Specific Opportunities for Families

Initially, these four families moved to Sønderborg because the move would (ideally) provide them with some specific opportunities. When applying the concept of life-modes to these opportunities, it becomes possible to explain how the informants make sense of their lives and their decision to move to Sønderborg. These opportunities are very much related to the informants' work (and family) life, which – due to the theoretical starting point – is a central theme throughout this article.

It is the first time Caroline and Lennart's family has lived outside Chicago, where their two oldest children are still living. The family moved to Sønderborg primarily because Lennart was headhunted by Danfoss's headquarters in Sønderborg for a position as head of a department. Lennart worked at Danfoss's Chicago office for 19 years as an engineer employed in management. Lennart is used to working long hours and describes himself as very focused on his career. Moving to Sønderborg was a great opportunity because of the career advancement it offered him. Alongside his job as an engineer, Lennart has been working for some years on his MBA (Master of Business Administration). It has long been Lennart's great desire to move to Sønderborg, for both the job opportunities and the relaxing atmosphere he associates with the town based on the many visits he has made during his career at Danfoss. In 2014, Caroline was ready to take the plunge with him, and they moved to Sønderborg with their two youngest children. Caroline says that she has also always been very focused on her career, in her case as a chemist employed in marketing at a pharmaceutical company where she has worked for 20 years. She was dismissed in 2013, however, when her department was closed.

Caroline, too, has been trying to complete an MBA for years, but it has been difficult because of her and her husband's workloads.

Considered from a life-mode perspective, both Caroline and Lennart have primary ends outside the home and the family, where they spend the majority of their day. Therefore, they seem to belong to the conceptual world of the career-professional, in which work is the end, and leisure and family life are the means. However, the couple have also chosen to have four children together, which indicates that they do not exclusively want to focus on their work. The time with their children in the evenings and on weekends also serves as relaxation time, in which Caroline and Lennart can recharge. This time with the family can – from a life-mode perspective – be seen as a means to their end.

In order for Caroline and Lennart to overcome everyday challenges, they normally hire help, as Caroline explains in the following:

> In the US, we have help – we have a house cleaner, we have people who help with the children, we have people who help with meals. You are both so focused on your career, so you put in long hours, and you try to do it all, but you can't. So we hire help. (Caroline)

In the context of life-mode theory, this family can be analysed as composed of two career professionals. Here, the life-mode concepts do not directly contribute to an understanding of how two career-professional practices can coexist when there is no home-front taking care of the house and family. However, by using the life-mode concepts, it can be said that characteristics of a home-front practice are being "bought" in order to perform tasks related to the home and family.

Before moving to Sønderborg in January 2014, Sheryl, Carlos and their two sons lived in Massachusetts in the United States, where they had lived for the past four years. Those four years in the US was the longest the family had lived together in the same place. They are used to moving around the world, and have also lived in Columbia, the Middle East and Thailand. The family primarily moves around the world to follow job opportunities, but Sheryl and Carlos also want to give their children an international upbringing.

Carlos, an engineer, was employed by the Danish company Secure during the four years the family lived in the United States. Secure produces innovative medical equipment, and was founded in Sønderborg, where its head office is located. Carlos works as head of the compliance department, and was invited by Secure to move to Sønderborg in order to be close to the team he manages and to optimize the department. Carlos describes himself as having a business perspective and as a workaholic. He also feels great responsibility towards his work, since it deals with the quality of medical devices. In addition to his work at Secure, Carlos is in the process of starting his own company (which will also produce medical equipment) together with a friend from South America, and is also completing an MBA. Carlos's life is primarily centred on work-related tasks and on developing his professional skills. From a life-mode perspective, this behaviour can be analysed within the conceptual world of the career-professional, where work serves as a primary goal in life.

Sheryl is trained in school management, and she has led schools in several of the countries where the family has lived. She has sought for several years to complete her MBA, but often has not had time to do so, and she has had to take breaks during the process. Work is what gives Sheryl's life direction and meaning, as explained in the following quotation, in which she describes the relationship between her work and free time:

> I spend my free time on my work. I need to do something structured, so I can have a career [laughs]. I'm a career woman.[4] I'm looking for places where I can contribute, be a valuable asset, make changes, improvements for children and young adults and help them make the right choices. (Sheryl)

From a life-mode perspective, this shows characteristics of the career-professional life-mode, where work occupies the majority of time in everyday life.

It is also important to Carlos and Sheryl that their children thrive, but both partners say that they themselves would not thrive if their jobs were not interesting and challenging. Like Caroline and Lennart, Sheryl and Carlos have usually hired help (nannies) to assist with child care. They have split other chores equally between them, although Sheryl believes that she is the more organized one when it comes to home and family, whereas Carlos is focused on his work. Therefore, Sheryl makes sure that chores are evenly distributed, so that she is not (unintentionally) being exploited – understood with respect to the life-mode concept – as a home-front practice. Considering that Sheryl primarily displays characteristics of the career-professional life-mode, this "control" is understandable, since exercising the home-front is not attractive to her. For analytical purposes, this can be seen as an expression of the fact that the couple must be able to perform tasks that, in a life-mode theoretical sense, relate to *both* the home-front *and* career work.

The Mexican-American couple Carmen and Peter are now considering whether they should stay in Sønderborg or return to Mexico, as Carmen's contract with Danfoss, where she is employed, is running out. Before the family moved, Carmen had been working at Danfoss's office in Mexico for four years. She has a Master's in Political Science and International Affairs and has worked primarily in negotiation. Carmen has always been very committed to her work, but also to her family, as she explains:

> We have the opinion that if you do something, do it well. So I wouldn't say the job is secondary. Not at all. I don't really know, it's so difficult because it's hard for me to leave work… I leave work at 6, sometimes 7, when I feel like I need to go home because of [my son]. I feel I need to be at home with him, with my family… And sometimes I miss them during the day. But, I'm also kind of a workaholic, I think. (Carmen)

In Mexico, where Carmen comes from, she says it is very common to work a lot, even if you have just started a family. One of the reasons the family moved to Sønderborg just after the birth of their son was the opportunity it offered of not being forced to live up to the demands that Carmen believes characterizes work life in Mexico. The job offer in Sønderborg gave her the chance to be able to both spend more time with her son and husband and to make career advancements. Carmen's characterization of Mexican work life can be grasped by considering Carmen's practice as being a complex composition with

ends in both work and family, seen from a life-mode perspective.

Peter has a Master's in Marketing and Strategy, and he met Carmen at their joint workplace in Texas. They lived in Texas before moving to Mexico, where Carmen was employed at Danfoss. When Carmen was offered the job in Sønderborg, Peter had also just been offered a job in Atlanta in the United States. The couple compared the locations and chose Sønderborg because Danfoss was able to offer working conditions that were more attractive than those in the United States, and because the job represented a career advancement for Carmen. From a life-mode perspective, it is possible to understand that the perception of "good working conditions" is also life-mode-specific, and can in this case be explained by the fact that both Carmen and Peter have spilt ends in both work and family. Peter, therefore, quit his job and instead started his own Internet company with a friend. Not long after, the family moved to Sønderborg. Peter's working hours are flexible, so he can spend time with their son. For Peter, working with the company (and the quality of the work in general) is important, but it is equally important for him to spend time with his family.

The Mexican couple Gabriella and Bautista, both 36, have lived in Sønderborg since 2007. They love to travel, and have used their education as engineers as an opportunity to move around the world, particularly in Europe. The couple do not have children yet, but would like to start a family within the next few years. They plan to stay in Sønderborg in the child's first years because they believe the town (and Denmark) offers the best conditions for a safe and good childhood. But the couple can also imagine moving to a new destination and do not rule out the possibility of doing so. Danfoss in Sønderborg hired Gabriella in 2007, and she now has a permanent contract. She started at Danfoss as an intern in Mexico and joined the company immediately after she had graduated from college. Gabriella enjoys life in Sønderborg, which she believes is much less demanding than working life in Mexico. Gabriella's comparison of working conditions in Denmark versus Mexico can also be understood from a life-mode perspective by considering different conceptions of the relationship between work and leisure. For Gabriella, work is not the primary goal in life; her ability to enjoy leisure time, travel the world, eat at restaurants and socialize are more important:

> It's not only the job that's important, it's the rest… And that can't be offered in Mexico. We are looking for the full package. Not just the job. It's okay that we don't have high positions in our companies. As long as we have enough money to travel, have a car and a house and time enough in the evenings to do something else. That's what matters to us. (Gabriella)

When applying the concepts of life-modes, Gabriella's practice is primarily understandable as the wage-earner life-mode, in view of the means-end relationship of her practice. However, this does not mean that her work is secondary. Work can be (and preferably is) both exciting and challenging, but the primary needs are mainly met during leisure time. Thus, the concept of the wage-earner life-mode is insufficient in this context, because there is no routine work involved. However, this shows yet again that life-mode characteristics may point in differ-

ent and opposing directions. People can demonstrate traits of different life-modes.

Bautista, who is also an engineer, is employed at a company that develops system solutions and sensors for intelligent lighting. This is the first (and only) job he has had as an engineer, as he was still a student when the couple moved to Sønderborg. Bautista is happy with his job and his workplace, where he especially appreciates the social cohesion amongst his colleagues. It is not only the content of his work, but also the social relationships that are important. Bautista describes his relation to his work as follows:

> Some of our friends come here, and go home to Mexico with a strong position. They work a lot. That's their goal. But that's not for us. Work is work. We try to keep a balance where we work hard enough not to get fired, but not so hard that you can't enjoy your life. (Bautista)

For Bautista, hard work means that life cannot be enjoyed. In his free time, he is interested in sports and volunteer work helping newcomers to Sønderborg to form social networks through associations and sports clubs, which for him create a meaningful everyday life. He describes his and Gabriella's balance between work and leisure as contrasting with that of their friends, who, it would appear, bear traits of the career-professional life-mode in their quest for career advancement. From this perspective, Bautista exemplifies the contrasting life perspectives that exist between career-professional and wage-earner practice, in which the means-end relationship appears contradictory, and one cannot understand the other's life priorities.

Bautista and Gabriella are examples of the fact that highly-skilled workers' priorities can vary greatly, as demonstrated by their contrast with the aforementioned families. Highly-skilled workers are not necessarily individuals who – when applying life-mode concepts – primarily show traits of the career-professional life-mode. The character of the work is not necessarily irreplaceable or unique, and the worker does not necessarily seek constant career advancement and personal development through work. Because they possess the same means-end relationships, Gabriella and Bautista seem to complement each other in the way that they agree on the balance they think should exist between work and leisure. Living in Sønderborg – Opportunities and Challenges

With the move to Sønderborg, however, a shift in some of the informants' individual practices occurred, resulting in a shift in family practices as well. These shifts caused some rather crucial challenges and dilemmas for the families. Some of the partners no longer work, or their work may have a different character, which has consequences for the partners' and families' organization. Generally, the research participants' work has a transnational character. That is, the work relates to both their country of origin (and other countries) and to the specific context in Sønderborg (and Denmark).

For Lennart, moving to Sønderborg has not required much habituation, since he had visited the town many times during his employment. Contrary to Caroline's expectations, Lennart is working at least as much in Sønderborg as he did back in the States:

> I don't think Lennart understands the Danish working hours. He still comes home at 6, he will always be that way. He wants things to be perfect.

So he doesn't have any responsibilities in the house. And he's also working on his MBA, so there is not much time for anything else. So I had to remind myself every day, I have to clean, I have to do the laundry, I have to cook. I have to change my mindset (Caroline).

While Lennart carries out his work at Danfoss most of the day, working on his MBA on the side, Caroline is trying to adjust to their new life in Sønderborg, where the family (at the time of the interview) has been living for about ten months. She has tried to find a job in Sønderborg or the surrounding area, but is experiencing problems because her area of expertise does not exist in Denmark. She is therefore currently working part-time (ten hours a week) as a translator for a small consulting firm in Sønderborg. She describes the transition as follows:

In Denmark, you have socialized medicine, so my job doesn't even exist here. So when that's not your area, where do you go for a job? […] From January to July I wasn't working, and I wasn't working on my MBA yet. I had to remind myself everyday that I needed to enjoy being here. It's difficult for me to go from working and being on a very specific career path to all of a sudden not. So both not working and being in another country is a lot to take in. It was very lonely and boring, and I knew I had to find something. Staying home is definitely not my thing. It's like… be careful what you wish for. For all these years you both kind of struggle and are like "I wish I had five more minutes!" and now you have three more years. So I have to take this opportunity and love it, because when we go back, I'm going to be working again, thank God! [laughs]. Fortunately this job fell into my lap. It's not my area of expertise, but it gives me something slightly meaningful to do. And fortunately, I have my MBA now, my MBA is *my* time (Caroline).

From a life-mode perspective, Caroline's practice has changed, as it no longer demonstrates to the same extent the obvious traits of the career-professional life-mode. From being on what she describes as "a specific career path," she is suddenly not working – at least not on something she finds interesting – and is now mostly in charge of the home and the children. Thus, there is a shift in her practice from being focused on career goals to lacking a structure that gives her the opportunity to meet her goals. Understood from the perspective of the career-professional life-mode, it is problematic for Caroline to suddenly be in a situation where the means-end relationship of her practice looks so radically different, and the home and family (involuntarily) replace work as the primary "goal" in her life. Theoretically, her practice might seem to show traits of home-front practice, but Caroline is in this state unwillingly and does not thrive in it, because it is – again, from a theoretical point of view – contrary to her life-mode-specific ends.

Lennart's job at Danfoss headquarters in Sønderborg is very much connected to the department in which he worked in Chicago. He is in charge of communication with the department in Chicago, and therefore regularly travels between Sønderborg and Chicago. In this way, his practice is conversely characterized by relatively high continuity.

In Sønderborg, Caroline spends most of her time working on her MBA, which she is completing online. This is a kind of opportunity for her, as by improving her skills she hopes for better chances in the job market when the family returns to Chicago – or moves on to another place – after the three-year period in Sønderborg. She educates herself and spends time on activities related to a life outside of Sønderborg

and outside a Danish national governmental framework. In this way, she tries to think about work as an element of continuity, even though – as shown in the quotation above – she does not always feel this way. This transnational practice can be grasped by looking at it from a life-mode perspective in which Caroline, primarily showing traits of the career-professional life-mode, continuously tries to develop her skills. Furthermore, it may be that her lack of satisfactory work in Sønderborg strengthens her transnational practice, as local life in Sønderborg does not fulfil her specific life requirements. This shows that transnational conditions – in this case, the ability to continuously improve skills in your home country – are central to her specific life requirements related to her career-professional practice. What makes Caroline hopeful, however, is that life in Sønderborg is temporary. Meanwhile, she tries to give her life content and meaning, which for her is related to personal development, by working on her MBA.

For Carlos and Sheryl, life has changed as well. For Carlos, the biggest difference has been adapting to what he calls the Danish work mentality. At work, he experiences a mismatch between his own standards and his fellow employees'. When he comes home from work in the evening, he often needs to have online meetings with the company's department in the United States: meetings that, due to the time difference, often take place late at night. These circumstances have consequences for the children and for Sheryl, who is trying to find work in Sønderborg, but has not had time to do so because of the family and home responsibilities she has had to take on due to Carlos' absence:

> We can't live like this. He's doing their job. There's a woman there, she goes home at 3:30 in the afternoon. […] We came here thinking that Carlos was going to be home at 5, but he comes home at 7 or 8. It's not working, not at all. If I can get a good job, everything will be great. Then I can be a happier person, and make the demand for Carlos to take responsibility in the house. Now it's half-hearted because I have nothing else to do. […] I just need to get a job, then everything will be fine (Sheryl).

Primarily showing traits of the career-professional life-mode, Sheryl faces problems in her everyday life due to Carlos' time-consuming commitment to his work. As long as she does not have a job, she has no choice but to be the one who (almost exclusively) takes care of the home and the family. When further applying the life-mode concepts, she can be said to exercise the role as home-front; a role that basically contradicts her practice. The sharp division of responsibilities that the couple had before they came to Sønderborg is now out of balance.

In many ways, Sheryl and Carlos's transnational practice is similar to Caroline and Lennart's. Carlos's responsibility to manage communication with the company's department in Massachusetts means that he actually works more in the Danish context than he did before the move. Like Lennart, Carlos often goes back to Massachusetts (every other month) for work. Like Caroline, Sheryl also works on her MBA online in an attempt to improve her skills, which can be theoretically understood as showing traits of the career-professional life-mode. Sheryl and Carlos also wish to leave Sønderborg after a period of time and there-

fore share with Caroline and Lennart many of the same rationales for residing in the town. From a life-mode perspective, there is a shift in practices, especially for Caroline and Sheryl, but also for Lennart and Carlos, who now work (even) more, creating an imbalance in their families. Though their work and family life before the transfer could through different solutions and choices be said to have been in balance, the picture has now changed. In a theoretical sense, this makes it challenging for the families to fulfil their perceptions of "the good life".

Carmen and Peter's priorities were, in a life-mode theoretical sense, also primarily understandable from a career-professional perspective to begin with. But a twofold goal in both work and family made everyday life complex for them in Mexico. Carmen tries, with ends in both work and family, to find a balance between work and family life, but this is often made difficult due to the perfectionism she describes as characterizing her approach to work. However, everyday life in Sønderborg has changed her approach to work a bit:

> […] but being here has reduced it [approach to work] a little bit. It's because of the environment. The people here are not… Well, not everything is about the job here. That also has an impact on me. I follow that. But still, at work everybody leaves at 4. I don't leave at 4! I don't think I will ever be a 9-to-4 person (Carmen).

Although Carmen is working a little less – which was one of her reasons for moving to Sønderborg – she still feels torn. From a life-mode perspective, she continuously has ends in both family and work, but the specific terms in Sønderborg have reduced work priorities a bit. Peter's practice has changed significantly with the move to Sønderborg, since he does not have a job. Instead, he is in the process of starting his own Internet company with a friend in the United States. They intend to advise other companies on marketing and strategy. In Sønderborg, Peter's responsibilities have primarily been taking care of the home and their son, who is almost two years old. Given that the company still consists only of Peter and his friend, he has no employees he needs to be accountable for. Carmen sometimes also works at home in the evenings and weekends, but she is required to be at work during the day because of meetings. Peter is not experiencing the same daily frustrations associated with having to leave the workplace – or the home – as Carmen does. Thus, from a life-mode perspective, they both show traits of the same ideologies, but handle the dilemmas that arise from such coexistence in different ways. For Carmen, a complex practice with ends in both work and family led to her accepting the job in Sønderborg, which was both a career advancement and a chance to spend more time with her son. In this way, she can more easily navigate in her dilemma. Peter tries to overcome that same dilemma by starting his own company, which gives him the opportunity to work at a satisfactory job wherever he is in the world with his family. So far, Peter perceives the company as an enjoyable project and does not expect it to grow into a big company. However, it contributes to the development of his skills, and provides him with relevant experience related to his profession. When their son is older, he would much rather go back to work at a job similar to the one he had before the move.

Thus, from a life-mode perspective, it appears as if Peter is living temporarily in the Danish context as home-front or as self-employed. At least, he shows some of these traits, which further demonstrates that life-mode characteristics can point in different directions. But what is important is that Peter himself considers this to be a sort of break from normal life, so his company and his life as a homemaker should not be understood as a permanent condition. Theoretically speaking, the company does not produce – as in the self-employed life-mode – something that maintains daily work. He delivers special knowledge, which further helps him to develop his skills. Therefore, in the life-mode theoretical sense, his practice still primarily shows traits of the career-professional life-mode, but the transnational and temporary situation in Sønderborg allows him to meet some of the conflicting objectives he has in his life, in which work and family are prioritized equally. Through his choices, he has the opportunity to meet the different priorities that reflect his complex practice.

Unlike the other partners, who are experiencing complex dilemmas and conflicts with the move to Sønderborg, the congruence of Gabriella and Bautista's practices in Sønderborg is an example of how practices can function together optimally. Theoretically, they both primarily show traits of the wage-earner life-mode, and have adjusted easily to the Danish working environment, which, from their life-mode-specific means-end relationship, provides them with some terms that are better than those in Mexico:

> It's more competitive in Mexico. Here, it's much more relaxed. You have the possibility to both work and have a life (Gabriella).

The fact that the couple does not yet have children is likely to influence how their practice is organized; a life with children might look different, since children would naturally occupy some of the free time the couple enjoys. However, it appears that their dream of having children soon can, in the theoretical sense, be analysed as a goal for them. The initial reason they chose Sønderborg as a city to live in was their wish to raise future children there. They both feel that Sønderborg is a safe and ideal place to raise children. Both Gabriella and Bautista believe that there is a clear distinction between work and leisure, and that this distinction – seen from a life-mode theoretical point of view – can fulfil their perception of "the good life", which is primarily acted out during free time. It is also during free time that they plan to spend a lot of time with their future children. So, for Gabriella and Bautista, life in Sønderborg provides them with important opportunities to realize "the good life", which is why they are not currently planning to move to another destination in the next year. They do not, however, rule out the possibility of moving in the future:

> We have our life here right now. […] But I don't know about the future, I don't think we will stay here forever. Like my father says, we are citizens of the world. There are pieces of our hearts different places (Bautista).

An Understanding of Work and Family Life as a Whole

It has been shown in the above that what can be analysed as problematic and unsatisfactory for some families can be perceived as optimal for others.

The four families, according to the theory, show traits of different life-modes;

two of them, in particular – Caroline & Lennart and Sheryl & Carlos – primarily show traits of the career-professional life-mode. In this theoretical life-mode, family life is made possible by the home-front, and therefore the family must have a home-front in order to be in balance. Since this is not the case in these families, the life-mode concepts may be insufficient. On the other hand, the conflicts that arise within the families can be explained by using the life-mode concepts, offering the opportunity to explain *why* this situation might be so problematic for the family: because no one (willingly) has or wants the role as home-front. Nevertheless, the analysis indicates that in spite of this, the family plays an important role for the research participants and cannot be seen as separate from work life. From this perspective, it is necessary to perceive work and family life as a whole. The family still plays a central role for those who have or want children, and if the families wanted a life where work was the only goal, parenthood would not make sense. When, as in the present cases, the family is highly prioritized, it may be (at least to some extent) because children and the family as a whole play a central role. These families can, in an almost Hegelian view, be seen as fate communities[5] – or at least communities – that through the security of the community are able to move around in the world, and include themselves in new and different contexts. In this way, the family becomes the stable element in a life that is otherwise characterized by temporariness; and perhaps these families' version of "the good life" is to live this way. As stated in Peter's quotation at the beginning of the article: "For me, the most important thing is just being happy wherever we are. For me, it's not really depending on the location. For me it's being happy, and the whole family to be together."

This is a suggestion for how this kind of highly-skilled transnational labour can be grasped by applying some specific theoretical concepts. These insights can further help to locate why it might be especially challenging to retain some of the highly-skilled foreigners: because "the good life" for them and their families is to be mobile and transnational.

A Transnational Practice

> We don't have a geographical spot or place that is our home. That was one of the conversations we had before coming. Where will we return to? We haven't lived one place long enough the past ten years to say, "That's our place!" Basically, what I'm looking for is a place where I can contribute, be a valuable asset, make changes and improvements. (Sheryl)

This is how Sheryl explains the family's transnational life and her rationales behind it, and it is a telling description of the way the informants in this case make sense of their lives. In this article, I have tried to point out how the families' local and transnational lives can be related to their different life-mode characteristics. The objective was to understand why transnational conditions cannot only be examined as an explanation or a condition in themselves. The ways in which families are transnational is, however, related to their specific life-mode characteristics. Through the analysis of various means-ends relationships in the families, it is possible to suggest what leads to their transnational lives. Again, in this context it is important to stress that no matter how the

families' specific means-ends relationships appear, the family as a whole plays a key role in this kind of transnational practice. Here the (sometimes contrasting) practices that the family consists of must coexist if balance in the family is to be maintained. In this sense, a transnational practice creates conditions for some families that offer the opportunity for them to live "the good life". This was the case with Carmen & Peter and Gabriella & Bautista, who especially appreciate what are for them appealing Danish working conditions that allow for a satisfying family life and free time. On the other hand, life for Caroline & Lennart and Sheryl & Carlos is problematic, since they – from a life-mode perspective – primarily show traits of the career-professional life-mode. However, it is interesting to note that regardless of whether the families can be said to be thriving in Sønderborg, they are all (to varying degrees) open to the possibility of moving to another destination in the world after a period of time in Sønderborg. For some, this interest in living abroad is primarily for career advancement; for others, it is because they believe it would be exciting and beneficial for their family life – or for *both* their career advancement and family life. Thus, the transnational conditions are, from this perspective, deeply interwoven in the specific life-mode priorities. When asking the families if they are ever concerned about the rootless character of their practices and the complex relation between being both transnational and local, the interviewees do not express any deep anxiety about – for example – their children's local rootedness. First of all, home is where the family is and not a specific location. However, Gabriella & Bautista's thoughts about Sønderborg as being an ideal place to raise their future children do indicate that they wish to be locally situated at least for a number of years. But they are not concerned about whether the children will be able to move at some point. All the families share the opinion that the transnational practice is mainly a positive aspect of a child's upbringing.

The mobile life includes both opportunities and challenges for the families. Furthermore, it is possible – as mentioned earlier – that these kinds of mobile families are both a particular opportunity and particular challenge for a municipality like Sønderborg, for example, because of their transnational and temporary character, which can make it difficult to retain them. Gabriella tells an interesting story on this subject from her workplace. From time to time, there are rumours that the company will move abroad, and when this happens the Danish employees start to look askance at the foreign employees. Gabriella explains why:

> They know it's easier for us to just move, because we've done it before. We don't have our family here, and we could just as well make friends somewhere else. I don't think they have that kind of mindset, that you could just move. That might be it. (Gabriella)

Thus, there are conditions for these transnational people that are linked to the market they are a part of, and that put them in a special situation. They are hypothetically able to be as mobile – and therefore as competitive – as the company they work for. And just like a company, they need only be tied to a place for as long as the place can provide good conditions for their existence. This further emphasizes

that the family is central to the analysis. If the family does not have a transnational character – which is the case with the Danish employees Gabriella mentions – it may put the employee at a disadvantage. Yet again, this stresses the importance of the transnational condition.

Concluding Remarks

As mentioned earlier, the material presented above has been gathered within the framework of wider research, and in the present context I have limited my material to a specific focus on the families' perspectives and experiences. Therefore, I have not presented how the state and life-mode theory examines everyday life in relation to a governmental framework – the state – in which everyday life unfolds, nor how the state is included in a state system. Thus, I will herewith touch very briefly upon this relation, which, however, deserves much more in-depth analysis.

The beginning of this article made reference to an April 2014 report presented by the (now former) Danish government, which claimed that Denmark is lagging behind in the international competition for the highly skilled workers. The report pointed out that highly-skilled foreigners contribute positively to productivity growth in Danish companies as well as to the financing of the public sector. A consideration of how this statement can be viewed within a state and life-mode theoretical perspective and a transnational perspective can help emphasize why these perspectives should be joined. This political objective can be seen as related to the state and to transnational terms, since the goal is (1) to survive as a nation state, or – as explained with the state and life-mode concept – to maintain recognition as a sovereign state in the state system, by (2) being a competitive part of the international market. These two theoretical perspectives can be seen as inextricably interconnected, because transnationality has become an essential condition of the state's work for sovereignty: the way states strive for self-preservation in the world of nations, the state system. The transnational activity, which in this case is the attraction and retention of highly-skilled foreign workers and their families, is, from a state and life-mode perspective, an important factor in the state's ongoing effort to achieve recognition as a sovereign state in the state system.

In posing questions as to how people make choices and experiences in conditions of transnational life, this article has pursued an interest in transnational families and, more precisely, in highly-skilled foreigners and their families situated in the southern Danish town of Sønderborg. In doing so, the key research questions as presented at the beginning have been: What happens when a family decides to leave the home country and live abroad? What happens to the dynamics within the family when moving to a new country? And what kind of obstacles and opportunities do they meet?

By applying a state and life-mode theoretical approach, the article has set out to answer these questions and show the importance of understanding work and family life as an integrated whole. This perspective has been used as an approach to understanding how people's different rationales, challenges and choices are based on their specific life-mode orientations. In doing so, it contributed to an understand-

ing of how people, in different ways, are trying to achieve "the good life". In the analysis of the material, families were examined using the life-mode concepts as analytical tools, which uncovered both balance and complexity in their everyday practices, and showed how life-mode characteristics can point in different and conflicting directions. By analysing different life-mode orientations, it was possible to suggest how certain conditions for some families can be understood as problematic, while for others they seem optimal. In this context, my main argument is that by understanding the concepts of work and family as an integrated whole, it is possible to provide suggestions as to ways in which people try to realize different perceptions of "the good life". Using the life-mode concepts, a further analysis looked at how and why the families are being transnational. For the families in this study, the move to Sønderborg provided them with some specific opportunities in order for them to realize their perceptions of "the good life". However, the everyday life in Sønderborg also created some challenges for the families as their work and family lives suddenly underwent reorganization.

Furthermore, from this perspective, it is possible that these kinds of transnational families are not only a special opportunity – e.g. for a town such as Sønderborg – but also a particular challenge, because of their transnational and temporary character, which can make it challenging to retain them. Reflexively, I have tried to indicate some possible explanations for this. Here, the state and life-mode theory can help to explain how attracting and retaining highly skilled foreign labour is part of the state's internal work to maintain sovereignty in the state system. However, this should be understood as one *possible* explanation that requires considerably more attention.

The emphasis in the article was, however, on the families' practices and experiences and on how perceptions of "the good life" can differ among these transnational, highly-skilled workers and their families. This is a condition which municipalities need to be aware of when forming their strategies. These workers are certainly not a homogeneous group of people with the same wishes and needs; however, important for all of them was that life is not "good" if their family is not in balance. Perhaps for this reason, it is necessary to consider which conditions should be present in order for highly-skilled workers and their families to settle down, in this case in the town of Sønderborg. At least for a while.

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Notes

1 Therefore, the material presented in this article has been gathered within the framework of wider research.
2 All names mentioned in this article are modified.
3 The study, however, could also have focused on companies, organizations or institutions, which can also be considered from both state and life-mode and transnational perspectives.
4 The term "career woman" is the informant's own expression and should not be confused with the content of the theoretical career-professional life-mode.

5 Hegel's concept of the family is a theoretical suggestion for how the family can be conceptualized as a fate community (Hegel 2004: 176). Initially, it was a substantial inspiration for my interest in the importance of the family.

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Respecting Swedish Muslims

Claims of Truth Concerning National and Religious Belonging in Sweden

By David Gunnarsson

In 2016, the Swedish Muslim politician Yasri Khan withdrew his candidacy for the board of the Swedish Green Party on account of his handshaking practice, where he claimed religious reasons for not shaking hands with women. The debate following his withdrawal was focused on gender equality issues from the beginning, but very soon started to revolve around Swedishness instead, and in the end prompted the prime minister to state that in Sweden we greet each other by shaking hands. Therefore the debate came to concern what can be acceptable behaviour in Sweden, but Khan's actions were deemed un-Swedish rather than problematic from a gender equality perspective.

In this article, I will investigate the relation between national belonging in Sweden and religious belonging to Islam in Sweden and how that is related to the recurrent talk of respect during the guided tours of a mosque in Stockholm that I have studied.[1] It is precisely that discussion on respect, in relation to national belonging in Sweden, which will be in focus in this article. Why has it been important to show respect on the guided tours of a mosque? What in the tours brings such issues to the fore? What personal convictions can be set aside or negotiated in the exercising of respect?

The study explored the regimes of truth surrounding Muslims in Sweden. The main focus was on the production of knowledge regarding Muslims in the context of the guided tours of a mosque in Stockholm. Special attention was given to how regimes of truth regarding Muslims inform the conversations during the visits, how they were debated in this particular arena and how that was dependent on positionality. It was a situation in which a Muslim, in the position of the guide, has an opportunity to present alternative stories, about who Muslims are and what they do. The visitors for their part could assess, respond to and challenge those stories. The aim of the study was to illustrate how discourses about Muslims manifest themselves on the guided tours of the mosque in Södermalm and what knowledge of Swedish Muslims and Swedishness were raised in that context. What regimes of truth met? How were these regimes of truth organized and conditioned depending on the position before, during and after the tours?

As mentioned, a central notion in my understanding of the tours is *regimes of truth*. It is used here in a Foucauldian sense, implying that the world becomes available to us through linguistic matrixes that are connected to power (Foucault 1991; Foucault 2007:47; Butler 2005:17). These "epistemological regimes of intelligibility" (Inda 2005:8), linking knowledge of the world with its comprehensibility, guide what is perceived as reasonable and sensible in differing contexts (Hall 1997:54–56). Every self-presentation therefore becomes a self-(re)presentation, because who I can be understood as is the result of interpretations made in using these matrixes. According to Judith Butler (2005:22f), whose developments and interpretations of Foucault I find useful, a "regime of truth governs subjectivation" and calling it into question would mean calling into question my "ability to tell the truth about myself". Therefore, the power of the regimes is existential and conditions the self-(re)presentations.

Therefore, who I am is always an open

question and the answer a result of identification processes. Being identified as someone, by myself or others, means being positioned in particular social positions, as observed by many ethnologists (Berg 2007; Gerber 2011; Johansson 2010; Léon Rosales 2010). Bronwyn Davies (2000) claims that we, in that manner, position each other in everyday conversations. Every narrative, statement or assertion has a certain *storyline* as its foundation, and inserting subjects into a story is what creates continuity for the subject (Davies 2000:21f). From this perspective, everyday conversations can be viewed as negotiations on positioning. For example, being positioned as a "Muslim in Sweden" or as a "Swedish Muslim" has a political dimension, where being called the latter is a more inclusive articulation in terms of national belonging. Being called a Swedish Muslim is currently an articulated aim of many Muslims, not least the ones born in Sweden (like Khan). A storyline is the connections made between positions and ontological assertions and can also include characteristics, such as being positioned as powerful/powerless, for example.

The presence of differing storylines and the negotiation on positions leads to more or less articulated claims of truth. Thus, with regard to the subject, narration can also become an issue of being able to assume *author*ity, the ability to create a reasonable story about oneself of which I myself am the author (Davies 2000:66–68). For the guides this has meant telling other stories than the ones present in media of what Swedish Muslims can be understood as and the conditions for their lives.

The talk of respect during and after the tours has been footed in such storylines. In the article I will show which storylines about national identity and religiousness were brought to the fore in the talk about and handling of issues concerning showing respect during the tours. Before getting into that, though, I will present the study from a methodological point of view and describe the scene of the tours, the mosque in Södermalm.

Method and Data

The study is based mainly on participant observations made during 14 guided tours 2003–2006 and on interviews with three guides and 22 visitors regarding their experiences on the respective tours. Most of the visitor groups were making study visits as a part of educational training. Seven of these were in primary and secondary education and two of them at college level. To frame and contextualize the tours I have furthermore used data from mass media, mainly press clippings, but also features from television shows. Other categories have been archival data, leaflets and brochures handed out at the mosque, as well as fictional books and a mailing list for Muslims. The guided tours of a mosque have offered an opportunity to study the production of knowledge about Muslims since they presented me with articulations of different regimes of truth stemming from different ontologies, a multitude of storylines so to speak. While there is a lot of talk about Muslims in Sweden, there are few forums where Muslims get to talk back. The study visits to the great mosque in Södermalm in Stockholm that I participated in were characterised by the guides becoming experts on themselves (Gunnarsson 2016).

The tours were roughly divided into two parts, the first half usually consisting of a tour of the building, in which the large prayer hall and the room directly underneath the dome were almost always presented. Sometimes the library, offices and the washing room were displayed, and only rarely the gym and the restaurant. The building itself has drawn some of the visitors I have talked to, since it is listed under a preservation order for representing the early modern welfare era, in which a lot of money was spent on a power station such as this. One of the most famous Swedish architects of the last turn of the century, Ferdinand Boberg, designed it and many visitors admired the original tiling in the former machine hall, which is now the prayer hall. It was rebuilt to become a mosque and inaugurated in 2000. This first part of the tour has been quite formalized.

Less so the second half of the tour, which has usually been spent in the conference room and has been designated for questions from the visitors. This part has had the characteristics of debate and negotiation, in the forms of cooperation as well as reluctance. Although there have not been set themes for the questions, and they have only rarely been explicitly prepared, they have concerned similar subjects. Generally, they have concerned the everyday life of Swedish Muslims, the guides' personal moral convictions, not least with regard to gender equality, and topical news on Muslims.

The guides were made up of a core of volunteers that receive no economic compensation, although some were part of the hired staff that worked for IFiS (Islamic Association in Stockholm) in the mosque, for example. They had received no special training or any specific course to become guides. Some of them, however, had taken a course arranged by Sweden's Young Muslims (Sveriges unga muslimer (SUM) equipping them to go to schools, for example, to debate and inform about Islam and Islamophobia. Usually, the guides' training had rather consisted in auditing tours with experienced guides and participating in a forum for the guides at the mosque where they could discuss and find solutions to recurrent questions or problems.

Most of the guides had a background in North Africa, either having relatives there or as a region of emigration. Over the years I have had conversations with many of them, but interviewed three of them formally. Two of them were men and one woman. One of them was born in Sweden, two had experience of living in the (former) Eastern Bloc. They were aged between their twenties and fifties. Of the guides I observed in tours there was one from the Middle East and one from the Nordic countries as well.

A Mosque in Stockholm

The mosque which was the setting for my study is a Sunni mosque and claims to be open for all Muslims that wish to pray. In practice, however, the mosques in Stockholm are visited in accordance with ethnicity and language, besides religious denominations. There is a large Shi'ite mosque in Jakobsberg, a purpose built Turkish Sunni mosque in Fittja and the one in Södermalm is mainly Arabic, to name a few of them. The tours are organized by the Islamic Association in Stockholm (Islamiska förbundet i Stockholm

The entrance on the western facade, facing Björns trädgård. Photo: David Gunnarsson.

(IFiS) which is part of the United Islamic Communities in Sweden (Förenade islamiska församlingar i Sverige (FIFS). FIFS organizes over 30,000 Muslims and is one of the largest receiving Muslim organizations of financial grants from the Swedish state (via the Commission for Government Support for Faith Communities (SST).[2]

The making of a mosque in Södermalm could be read as an attempt and longing to belong and establish a "home", at least in a religious sense, where it has not been symbolically available beforehand. From about the 1970s onwards it seemed more and more problematic for the Muslim organizations in Stockholm not to have a representative mosque in the capital of Sweden. The inauguration of the mosque in Södermalm, on 8 June 2000, therefore ended over 20 years of struggling to receive the permission to build a mosque in the inner city of Stockholm. Beside disagreements and financial difficulties amongst the Muslim organisations, the political process also dragged on. The city council rejected several suggestions from the planning department. Concerns mainly involved that the suggested locations were too far away from, or too close to the city centre, and they were deemed both too attractive (fit for other activities) and too unattractive (in industrial areas or the like) (cf. Karlsson Minganti 2004: 154–157).

The first purpose-built mosque in Sweden was erected in Gothenburg in 1975 by the Ahmadiyya movement. Since then several other mosques have appeared, but there is only one (the one in Fittja) where they call to prayer on the outside of the building. On many occasions the planning and building of mosques stir controversy and conflict. That does not pertain to Swe-

den exclusively in fact it is so common that in 2005 the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* had a special issue edited on mosque conflicts in Europe, including examples from France, the United Kingdom, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. In her introduction the editor, Jocelyne Cesari (2005:1016), discusses how Europe has experienced a growing political interest in Islam since the 1980s, especially with regard to connections between European Muslims and political movements of different kinds. She further concludes that the presence of mosques in Europe has contributed to and facilitated the establishing of global networks between Muslims (Cesari 2005:1018). This attention and visibility, both politically and architecturally, has led to debates and stirred emotions.

A mosque in Södermalm connects differing spaces and becomes a part of separate and parallel networks. Places are nodes in movement (cf. Foucault 1986: 22f). Places thus define each other; a mosque in Södermalm has other symbolical values than a mosque in an apartment in a suburb. The Muslim position is often linked to immigranthood in Sweden, wherefore, in spite of being a religious identity, it also carries ethnic and national implications (Ask 2014:119; Hvitfelt 1998). Claiming the Muslim position could therefore negatively impact the possibilities for viewing oneself or being viewed as Swedish. During the guided tours a (limited) number of positions have been feasible. The situation makes the assumption that the guide is a Muslim reasonable, and further that the visitors are not (which is not always the case). This is why it has been symbolically important to have a representative mosque in the centre of the capital.

Avtar Brah (2002) revisits the old conception of diaspora, which proceeded from an envisioning of a centre/home and a periphery, and introduces the notion diaspora space in its stead. By employing it she wishes to acknowledge the complexity of the politics of difference and highlight the simultaneous importance of place and transnational movement in contemporary identity formation (Brah 2004: 202). In using the notion, Fataneh Farahani (2007:39) shows how, for example, the Ethnology subject in Sweden has changed as a result of migration processes that have pushed it into new fields of exploration. Issues concerning Islam and Muslims have also ended up on the agenda more generally as a consequence of migration and globalisation. One of the things transnational movement does is to challenge what is (un)acceptably different in a specific time-space (Brah 2004:190), in this case the question of who and what can be understood as (un)acceptable in Sweden. Diaspora space is an intersection where the borders of inclusion and exclusion, of belonging and othering and of Us and Them are drawn (Brah 2002:208f). It is this kind of negotiations, on religion and national belonging, which I will highlight in my data and that have taken place during the tours.

Respect and Social Inequality

The guides saw the tours as a chance to alter other stories about Muslims and allow the visitors who tour the mosque to hear something that is not mediated or taught in school; however, they experienced difficulties in terms of gaining credibility with

regard to their presentation of alternative stories. Even when the guides talk about their private life, as is often the case, they are challenged and sometimes mistrusted. The guides, and hosts, use their private lives to explain their position in Sweden, but the visitors also expect them to expose their personal opinions regarding how they, as Muslims, would act in morally difficult scenarios; thus, the tours present a situation where the visitors seem more comfortable than the hosts. Another significant result is that both the guides and the visitors expressed the importance of the tours becoming a respectful meeting place. Religiosity, religion and secularism seem in themselves to represent otherness. What is respectful in practice, however, is not very clear. There is an ongoing debate in Swedish society concerning whether it is respectful to shake hands with a Muslim in a working situation, as is customary in Sweden. Moreover, the showing of respect is given a gender dimension on the tours, since the main way to perform respect is for every woman to wear a robe when entering the mosque. Respect as a practice seems to be mired in social inequality.

The tours of the mosque have a setting of certain societal ideals and values, and although these differ many have talked about the importance of showing respect during the visits. There have been different kinds of respect available in these situations, and both guides and visitors articulated that showing respect is important. Perhaps this is the respect a host would show a guest, and vice versa, but it is also a respect they have for a place that is sacred. There is a strong will in all parties to maintain a respectful meeting.

In their analysis of a global survey, with follow-up interviews, aimed at Muslims of the world, John Esposito and Dalia Mogahed (2007:xiii, 61, 87) state that one of the most common things that Muslims asked for that would better relations with the West was showing greater respect. The results of the survey are highly generalized and stem from an inquiry that seems to uphold a sharp difference between West and the Muslim world. Therefore it is hard to say what respect stands for in that case. With regard to the tours, however, we might see it as a reiteration of a current and contemporary theme.

Only a few researchers have taken on the notion of respect in theoretical terms, although it sometimes appears as an emic concept (see e.g. Gaskell 2006; Lalander 2009). However, both Richard Sennett (2003) and Beverly Skeggs (2000) have problematized and discussed it as a notion. Sennett analyses respect in the welfare society and what it means in our time, but also considers the historical processes that have produced it. He states that mutual respect is a strong idea in the welfare society and involves treating others as equals. In his reflection he identifies some of the foundational forms of respect. Society provides us with three ways to earn respect, he argues. First, we can earn respect through self-development and putting our capacities to use. Second, we can get social esteem by taking care of ourselves and becoming self-sufficient. Third and last, we can gain respect by helping others and giving back to society (Sennett 2003:63f). This societal value, though, is challenged and undermined by the brutal presence of social inequality. The compassion that motivates helping others and

giving back to society can be perverted into pity, which means that to the receiver it could appear to be contempt. And the successful self-sufficient citizen may make others look like people who do not achieve to their full potential (Sennett 2003:64). The respect we earn and the ways to reach it are challenged by the social inequality.

Another central idea in Sennett's understanding of respect is that it is expressive and performative, it is done in actions. From this aspect it is also informed by societal inequality since respect had the legitimation of inequalities that characterize hierarchical societies as its aim (Sennett 2003:207), for example bowing to the queen. Beverly Skeggs (2000:11) argues that respectability was one of the most important mechanisms for the class concept to emerge. This was mainly linked to the distinction that was made between the non-respectable women from the slum and the respectable women from the middle class. In Skeggs' understanding, respectability is dependent on social positions of class, gender and sexuality and is linked to the construction of subjects and occurs in dialogical deeds of recognition (Skeggs 2000:13). Hence, I perceive acts of recognition to be central to respect, as well as the mutuality and reciprocity. Sennett makes a comparison with an orchestra where everyone is expected to play their part, the difference being that there is no score or notes but a social text that evolves through mistakes and errors.

In the following I will present the way respect has been used and discussed in my data, and analyse it from the viewpoint of what is performed in the respectful acts. How has respect been performed during the tours? In what ways has this been a way of handling social inequality and processes of othering? I will discuss how respect has been addressed as a universal value, mainly in the educational settings, how it has been sexed with regard to practices of veiling, and lastly how respect has been discussed as something potentially hindering. In the conclusion, these threads will be woven together in a discussion on the othering of religiousness in Sweden and its implications for the possibility of creating a sense of national belonging for the Muslim community.

Respect as a Universal Value

In my data, respect appears within a number of different contexts and meanings. It is first and foremost in, but not limited to, the educational contexts that respect was given key importance. Respect was linked to honesty, in terms of not being misleading in communication. In other contexts my informants have talked about it rather as refraining from speaking an opinion that one would think the other party might find offensive. However, a commonality seems to be found in that it has meant attempts at giving room for subjectivity. In that sense, my data hints that respect has meant giving voice or *author*ity. This especially applied to the visitors, who by listening and letting the guide finish their speech have created a space for him/her to express their views and standpoints. The respect has been based on an idea about difference and disparity, which are often explained and understood through references to structural contexts in society (cf. Brown 2006). That Muslims have problems with gender equality has been viewed as self-evident, and generalizable

to the person in front of you, by reference to public speech on Muslims (for example in mass media) proceeding from a storyline that positions Muslims as gender unequal.

Muslims are often portrayed as an especially troublesome category when it comes to issues concerning universal values such as democracy or gender equality (cf. Esposito & Mogahed 2007). Sweden, not least since entering the EU in 1995, has branded itself as a role model country regarding gender equality, and this has meant that Swedish identity has acquired a naturalized connection with gender equality (Towns 2002). Due to the storyline that positions Muslims as particularly gender-unequal, it becomes self-explanatory that anyone who can pass as being a white Swedish visitor can also pass as gender-equal, since they possess the bodies of the nation. This makes it easy for those visitors to criticize the gender inequality of Muslims without having to question their own positions.

Another available framework for understanding respect is as a guide for interaction in a multicultural society. The Swedish national encyclopaedia states that it means showing and feeling (sufficient) high esteem of a person('s characteristics) (www.ne.se). The notion also seems to have positive connotations when describing how to interact with other people. In her study of the making of immigranthood in Swedish schools, Ann Runfors shows that one of the things the teachers wanted to equip their students with was respectful behaviour towards others (Runfors 2003:142). This idea was also present in the curriculum for primary school at the time which specified that respect was to be shown for cultural diversity (Runfors 2003:140). In Runfors's study respect was explained to comprise showing consideration, feeling safe, having a sense of responsibility, showing tolerance, being honest and being able to work on a team (Runfors 2003:144).

That the Swedish school system should foster citizens who treat others with respect has been highly present in what pupils and teachers have told me in interviews and during visits, and has made acts of accommodation desirable. Even persons who would not usually consider wearing a Muslim scarf to accommodate religious groups have done so during the visits. This could be read as a performative act of respect with regard to a "divergent minority", and an effect of that "minority" having access to a place in which they can be hosts.

Since showing respect is about positioning, it is crucial to consider processes of subjectivation. This enables us to analyse who the participators can become to each other. If respect involves recognition of the Other then we end up with a game of mutual desire for recognition (cf. Butler 2005:24). It connects to the foundational ethical question: How should I treat you? (Butler 2005:25). A question which is woven into how the production of an I and a you comes about and the social norms that makes the appearance of the Other possible. Judith Butler, however, refrains from perceiving the relation between recognition and the norms, or the structure, as automatic. Instead she says it has to do with the desire to recognize the Other.

> Sometimes the very unrecognizability of the other brings about a crisis in the norms that govern recognition. If and when, in an effort to confer or to

> receive a recognition that fails again and again, I call into question the normative horizon within which recognition takes place, this questioning is part of the desire for recognition, a desire that can find no satisfaction, and whose unsatisfiability establishes a critical point of departure for the interrogation of available norms (Butler 2005:24).

The quotation is taken from her discussion on recognition and the links to regimes of truth. Here it seems it is the desire to receive or lend recognition that could motivate such a powerful act which questioning a regime of truth through which one is made comprehensible is, that is, questioning your own being. Butler seems to imply that there can be a desire to recognize something that has no place in the structure. "Unrecognizability" could, in this case, pertain to the rigidity of the structures and their changeability, where the desire to recognize the Other may be the driving force. Desire brings about the crisis of the structure.

Perhaps there is a choice that appears as well, a choice between questioning the norm itself or the persons outside the norm. Many of the visitors have told me that their motivation to go on a tour of the mosque has been to hear something else about Muslims, something that a newspaper or a book would not tell you. In that motivation we may see the desire to recognize the Other in an including manner, making *author*ity possible, and thus acknowledging that Muslims are misrepresented or only (re)presented superficially. The hope has been that a personal meeting with a Muslim could change that. The guides' possibilities of giving a version of their own, however, does not guarantee that the norm is questioned; instead it can backfire and bring about non-recognition or rejection of that version.

As I mentioned before, the school is seen as a pivotal instrument for fostering good citizens where particular ways of dealing with diversity are advocated. Teaching pupils to show respect for people with Other habits or ways of thinking, which has been addressed by several teachers I have interviewed, is a part of that fostering, but with different regimes of truth in circulation mutual respect becomes a negotiable concept. Its contents have not been uniform in practice. The negotiations are power-laden, and since it has to do with the production of truth and knowledge it has not been negotiated on equal terms. As I have shown, respect as a universal value and desirable way of dealing with diversity is bound up with social inequality. Furthermore, the respect that is shown from the positions deemed inferior tend to be invisible; it is visible mainly when it is not shown. None of the visitors, interviewees or participants on the tours have expressly exemplified how the guides show respect during the tours.

Sexed Respect

Respect is performed in everyday, mundane actions. The showing of respect has been highly sexed during the tours, since the most manifest way to show respect has been by wearing the robe that every female visitor has to wear. Therefore it is essential to investigate the relation between sex and respect. Wearing the robe was a difference-maker, in the sense that it reminded the visitors of trips abroad and situations where the same kind of regulations applied for entering sacred sights. Although the practice of covering the body generally was seen as un-Swedish and often questioned by the visitors during

the question time, the women were generally willing to accommodate and wear the robe during the tours, mostly without complaint.

Subsequently, a paradox stood out in my data. For most visitors showing respect at a sacred site seemed self-evident. In conversations and in interviews many women talked about it being very unproblematic to wear the robe during the visit. At the same time, a recurrent theme in the questions to the guides was why Muslim men force women to veil. The guides, for their part, often answered stating that veiling is a minor part of the religious practices that has caught too much attention in Swedish society and that the faith itself is the important issue. At the same time, they had introduced the demand for every woman to wear a robe, which would certainly make it appear as though it was quite important to them. According to the teachers that have gone to the mosque for study visits for many years, the robe was a rather novel demand; when they made visits to the same organization's former basement mosque it was not required. The handling of women's naked skin therefore seems to have varied over the years and to be an issue for negotiation rather than one where consensus has been reached on the part of the mosque. Thus, the question of covering women's bodies in the mosque paradoxically stands out as tremendously important and, at the same time, irrelevant – for both guides and visitors.

I would say that the accommodation of the visitors in this matter was a performative act of respect, where respect meant wearing the robe, although for many it was against their beliefs. The practice has been critiqued by the visitors while they have simultaneously performed it. In this context it is important to stress that the critique, during the tours I observed, never concerned the wearing of the robe during the tours, but rather the practice as it affects Muslim women. Consequently, the respectful meeting was not about being convinced about the plausibility or the properness of a Muslim way of life but rather about being able to accept and tolerate the differences that were (re)created in the interaction between guide and visitor. Even if the tours themselves were footed in difference-making, as I have discussed earlier, these differences were not necessarily and automatically (re)created. It takes labour to (re)create the differences as well as looking for similarities. In a way, sameness was created by the female visitors wearing the robe (i.e. by performing a Muslim practice).

During the tours universal values were negotiated, values that concern the whole of humanity and how we should interact. These ethical questions were embedded in contemporary debates in Sweden. What was meant by gender equality for example? One of the groups I participated in came from a Bible College in Stockholm where they studied theology and philosophy. They were asking questions concerning the status of women in Islam to which the guide answered that when it comes to the rights and duties there are no male or female, they concern human beings. But he also stated that the sexes, although they have the same value, have different tasks and that God created everything in pairs so that we may get to know each other.

The guide in his answer proceeded from a specific content of the concept gender

equality that was not necessary to articulate specifically. It was what he presumed that the visitor meant. He presupposed that it was a question of value, that men and women have the same value. Interestingly, he first took a stance which was related to radical feminist constructivism, in which there are no sexes, only human beings (cf. Gemzöe 2002). He also said that some of the differences between the sexes were related to cultures and traditions (a common way to cleanse the religion of perceived perversions (see also Karlsson Minganti 2007:84–88). The differences that he categorized as traditional seemed to be secondary to the foundational universal values. A little later, he took more of a biologist stance when he said that there are two sexes that have the same value but complementary roles (cf. Farahani 2007; Gemzöe 2002; Laskar 2005). It is also interesting to note that the exposition on the status of women in Islam was delivered quite defensively; he was defending his faith from the knowledge and storyline which would say that Islam is a religion that oppresses women or that is irrational. He was questioned and he answered in defence. The limited credibility that was expressed in the follow-up questions from the visitors formed the conditions for his possibilities to *authority*.

Gender equality was addressed on every tour that I observed, and according to the guides it almost always does. The visitors that ask questions often highlight "the gender-equal nation of Sweden" and, in questioning the Muslim, made themselves spokesmen of it. Perhaps that was most conspicuous in the case of the Bible College and a group of young Christians that almost certainly would have met the same questioning of their beliefs and values with regard to societal norms, maybe even gender equality. The idea that Swedes are particularly gender-equal exists, seemingly quite unproblematic, side by side with the insight that many have concerning the striking inequality on the Swedish labour market (Dahl 2005, 2010). It appears to be precisely the comparison to the Muslim immigrant that is necessary for forgetting the conditions for women in Sweden that makes the position of Swede claimable by almost anybody that can pass as Swedish (cf. Towns 2002). Swedishness in this corporal sense has whiteness as its mark (cf. Mattsson 2005). Further, previous research has shown that Muslim identities exist in an ambiguous field of both religious and racial categorization (Meer 2012; Meer & Modood 2010), enhancing the question of national belonging in this case to be one involving racial issues.

If the position of Swede was considered as gender-equal, there is also an ostensibly clear-cut idea of Muslim women as victims and oppressed (cf. Badran 2008; Cooke 2008; Farahani 2007; Mohanty 2003). Such an idea forgets the significance that feminist movements have had in Muslim countries and, further, the "Islamic feminism" that is striving for gender equality within the framework of an Islamic understanding of themselves (Badran 2009; see also Hassan 1999; Mir-Hosseini 2006).

Additionally, there is another context that makes it hard to address the complexity, in that in public discourse there is seldom any distinction made between what has been termed the Islamic and the Muslim. The Islamic, in this sense, pertains to

religious doctrines in themselves, whereas Muslim means the practices of Muslims, based on their interpretations of the doctrines (cf. Imam 2000:121). During the tours these categorizations continually spilled over into each other. What the Quran says is interpreted as what Muslims actually do and what Muslims do is often interpreted as a natural part of the religion and Islamic doctrines. It hides the fact that the Quran is interpreted in different ways. This confusion of Islamic and Muslim helps to consolidate the ideas according to which the religion is assumed to penetrate every part of a Muslim's life (Gardell 2010), a view that has sometimes been upheld by the guides as well.

The Scarf and the Robe

While guides tended to stress the individual responsibility and choice of Muslim women to wear a headscarf or not, visitors more often spoke from a standpoint from where it unambiguously was understood as an oppressive practice imposed on women. Women and women's clothes have often been given special attention and have become symbols of societal orders (Ask 2014; Badran 2008; Cooke 2008: Imam 2000:128); this becomes a battleground for what is (un)acceptably different (cf. Brah 2004). Fataneh Farahani (2007:128f, 169), in her thesis, analyses how the veiled body (the use of the robe in the case of the tours) represents a certain desirable heterosexual feminine subject in a specific heterosexual dramaturgy (see also Laskar 2005). The veiled body represents a respectable femininity that is desirable.

There are no simple and definite reasons why women veil their bodies, the motives can be political, cultural or religious to mention some (Farahani 2007: 134). It can be done by choice, it can be imposed and it can be opted out of. One of its functions is blocking the male heterosexual gaze (Farahani 2007:157f). It is this function that the guides have referred to when they explain why all women have to wear a robe in the mosque and the reason they introduced it on the tours. What they experienced was that they had some younger women coming to the mosque in clothes where belly and arms were exposed, which was unacceptable and distracting. Consequently, they introduced the robe so that they would not have to single out the women whom they thought dressed disrespectfully. As such, the robe (and the scarf) raises questions and ambiguity among the visitors about how to handle it and how to act.

Several described it in terms of a universal dress code that everybody that enters the mosque had to accommodate to. The guide, and also some of the Muslim interviewees/visitors that I talked to, stressed that the dress code went for men as well. In my observations, however, I saw young men wearing shorts and t-shirts, and even one of the guides had a t-shirt on at one time, without them receiving comments or being asked to wear a special garment to cover up their exposed skin. The male dress code was discussed briefly in one of the tours I observed, but it never really caught the attention of guides or visitors in a profound way. There was quite another willingness, mainly for the visitors, to discuss women's clothing. In other words, the arguments about women's and men's dress codes as a means of showing respect for

the sacred site were somewhat contradictory. On the one hand, it was explained as an equivalent obligation, on the other hand, the interest in discussing men's clothes was rather poor. That even a guide could wear a t-shirt shows that the control and focus on men's respectability in the mosque was weak.

The significance of the robe was, moreover, often downplayed. Many stressed the temporariness and that they went there of their free will and then had to accept that obligation (i.e. assuming the position of a guest). In that way, it seemed to resemble more of a role you played for a short while, and a performance that did not stick to the actor's real character. This could be read as a practice rooted in the desire to wipe out the effects of the act, like having your deed undone (cf. Butler 2006). There seemed to be an agreement, and an agreement which worked very well in that case, that it was a deed that was not for real. But what poses a threat? Why cannot the deed be real? In what alternative ways, apart from being temporary and unreal, could the deed be understood?

Values concerning sex and sexuality have been central in the making of difference vis-à-vis colonial subjects (Loomba 2008:159, 163; Farahani 2007). Consequently, the Muslim scarf is often a matter of discussion when it comes to what is (un)acceptably different (Brah 2004:190). For that reason one might expect more protests against wearing the robe during the tours and in my data. Probably very few visitors viewed the decision to wear the robe on the tours as the outcome of a personal conviction that veiling their body in that manner was something they generally appreciated. On the contrary, many visitors articulated resistance to veiling, both to me during the tours and in the interviews afterwards. When they were in the mosque, however, the responsibility for wearing the robe could be ascribed to the arrangers of the tours and not to the visitors that performed the acts.

Further, the link to respect indicates that this was something they would not normally do, something over and beyond everyday practices. It seems primary to handle this paradox, partly because you have to do something contrary to your principles, partly to be able to explain the deed as the result of your own choice and not as docility or compliance in the face of an imposed obligation. What poses a threat might be that the deed has effects and that anyone who wears the robe actually has yielded to something they would normally oppose. There is a possibility that the arguments of the feminine visitors had the aim of maintaining a rational and independent subject.

Mark Fisher (2011:41) argues that critique and cynical distance to our actions are characteristic of our time. The cynical distance opens up for the possibility to view yourself as critical although your practices might run counter to your convictions, for example eating shrimps that you know are produced in a way that destroys the environment and to which you are opposed. Following that, the critique of veiling may have been viewed as enough by the visitors, the critique made the wearing of the robe viable.

The requirement for women to wear a robe was possible to explain and accept because of its transience or because critique was articulated against it during the tour. Another feasible reading is that the

guides and the Muslim visitors I interviewed downplayed the importance of wearing the robe because of the great attention the Muslim scarf has attracted and the focus on Muslim women's rights. In that sense, the downplaying could be a form of resistance to Islam being depicted as a particularly patriarchal and oppressive religion for women.

The robe has been a physical and sexed way of showing respect, and there have very seldom been public grumblings and complaints, although several articulated their critique to me individually. Therefore it seems plausible to say that the requirement for women to wear a robe stood out as a legitimate practice in the mosque.

Following what I have hitherto discussed on the robe, the sexed respect seems to have contained an element of compromise, overriding the demands for comfortability. The mosque is far from the only place where women are taught to be respectable and ashamed of their naked bellies (Skeggs 2000), for example, but it was also reiterated at the tours I studied. Clothing and the exposure of limbs and skin has been the pivotal battleground where respect for the other has been negotiated, and the heterosexualized female body of the middle class is also expected to be respectably dressed (Skeggs 2000: 198). In other words, respect is something that is sexed and linked to the female body more generally.

The heterosexual dramaturgy created sameness between guides and visitors as well. On one of the tours where the guide was answering a question about why Muslim women wore a headscarf, after a few arguments a visitor asked why a woman cannot attract a man. The guide explained that the ruling is motivated by keeping the fidelity in heterosexual monogamous relations and he also asked the group who spends most time in front of the mirror. Is it a man or a woman? His argument was based on an unspoken obviousness, that it was the woman's part of the heterosexual contract to make herself desirable to the man. Further, it was obvious that she should attract the right man only. What he referred to in that answer was the heterosexual dramaturgy that motivates veiling (Farahani 2007). When he asked who spends most time in front of the mirror he got no answer, only giggles from the audience. Those giggles could be interpreted as a recognition of the validity of the heterosexual dramaturgy for the visitors.

The positions in that storyline can easily be recognized. The visitors spoke on behalf of Muslim women from a position as Swedish and white, gender-equal with the right to correct the Other. In the article "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak shows how one of the legitimating and formative approaches from the colonizer to the colonized has been that white men are saving brown women from brown men (Spivak 2002). Thus the questions about the scarf during the tours were embedded in a context of who can save whom and who has to be rescued in the name of gender equality.

Wearing a headscarf appeared to be an illegitimate and incomprehensible practice in the eyes of the visitors, and the guide tried to make it comprehensible by referring to a heterosexual matrix where women make themselves desirable to men (Butler 1990). Even though it was an open question about who spent most time in

front of the mirror, the answer was so obvious they did not have to articulate it. Heterosexualized stereotypes became a way to explain the questioned rules and bring them into a storyline that the visitors could recognize. This could be viewed as a situation in which the guide succeeded in having *author*ity since his explanation gained support and no one questioned it, at least not in articulated form. There was a conformity between the orders that the guide invoked and a heterosexual dramaturgy that they could recognize. The heterosexual matrix brought order to the misunderstandings (cf. Jonsson 2007:176), in this case the incomprehensibility of religious rules.

So, discussions on sex and sexuality certainly have the potential for articulating difference but can also contribute to articulating sameness. The heterosexual desire and the naturalness in which women make themselves attractive for the right man makes the veiled Muslim woman intelligible. The example shows how the Swedish rhetoric on gender equality reaches a limit and is forced to handle the problematic differences between sexes (Dahl 2005:63). In this case the visitors had no further questions, but the guides' storyline with the vain woman in front of the mirror stood as a truth they could not or would not question.

Contestations and Disrespect

So far I have concentrated on examples when the respect has worked, so to speak, when there has been a fundamental consensus about what should be said and done in different scenarios on the tours, even though questions and issues have been raised. In this section I would like to concentrate on the fewer instances when respect is articulated as something problematic, but also the situations that have been talked about as examples of disrespect, when the respect has been challenged.

Respect could allude to negative feelings as well, where showing respect for your parents may be understood as a practice that belongs in a patriarchal structure and therefore illegitimate and undesirable (Andersson 2003:105). In a brochure on the moral system of Islam that IFS handed out in the mosque they emphasized respect for parents as something important. In that text it was described as synonymous with caring, which is an inalienable part of the religion. So, respect can be desirable in that form too (see Ask 2014). With Sennett's view on the welfare society it could easily be understood as a form of respect that performs social inequality and is therefore problematic and unmanageable (Sennett 2003). It might come off as outdated and un-Swedish since it does not conceal the social inequality which is its basis, as does the ideal of mutual respect. There are examples of how this affects pupils that are understood as immigrants, where the parents, especially the father, are seen as hindering their children (Runfors 2003). In other words, and as Sennett (2003) also pointed out, there are forms of respect that are perceived as problematic, archaic and unjust.

Pernilla, one of the teachers I interviewed, talked about respect having an obstructive side to it. Too much respect makes people hold back and refrain from saying things that they want to and should express. Being "over-respectful", as she put it, prevents unprompted interaction. The ideal, according to her, was to be able

to pose any question that comes to mind and convey any opinion you have to the guide. She remembered a visit to a semi-god in India and compared it to the visit to the mosque and said on both occasions that she had questions she wished she had had the courage to ask. She described herself as "lame" in those situations and could not understand how she, who has been educated to be critical, became so lame and not so forthright. What she said hints that a guided tour or study visit to a religious site or group is a context that does not invite you to express a divergent standpoint and critique. Maybe it is a genre that provokes respect more than criticism.

At other times the respect has been challenged by means of disrespectful conduct. When I participated in a tour with a high school class from one of the northern suburbs of Stockholm, one of the pupils put on the robe, although he was a boy, before the tour started and the guide had arrived. This act of cross-dressing passed without anyone saying anything at the time, maybe because it happened in a liminal timespace, in the foyer before it started. It was also a liminal timespace since it is a bit unclear when a teacher brings a class who should step in and say something. The teachers handed over the responsibility to the group and the guide. What was very clear, though, was that in the interviews with his classmates (I never interviewed him) he could be used as a deterrent example of what not to do when in a mosque. (He also cursed in Finnish before he learned that the guide was a convert from Finland.) What he did opened up a possibility for the others to convey to me that they knew how to show respect. By pointing out that he did not, they could demonstrate to me that they knew what the norms were (cf. Martinsson & Reimers 2008). Another way of interpreting what he did is to see it in the context of the class; maybe they were his audience. Cursing can function as a means of earning respect (Gaskell 2006: 221) in another sense, a kind of respect that comes from daring to do the forbidden or dangerous.

In another interview with pupils from that same class, where they were eager to describe themselves as an unruly class to me, disrespect came up in the form of a fantasy, an imagined scenario. It all started with one of the three boys I interviewed pitching a question about what would happen if a girl would not put on the robe or a headscarf. The question was mainly directed at me, I think, but since I hesitated the two others, one a convinced Muslim and the other an atheist of "Muslim origin", started to answer. They were both convinced that nothing much would happen and that there would be an easy and peaceful solution. In their fictive storyline they created positions of which the most elaborate perhaps was the host's. In creating the positions they clearly used a normative level (cf. Butler 2005:24) and depicted them as warm, generous and welcoming. The Muslim hosts that they portrayed were far from the image of a fundamentalist or extremist; in contrast the fictive hosts were very understanding and accommodating and respected other people's integrity. If the girl does not want to wear a robe or a scarf she cannot be forced to and is of course welcome to visit the mosque anyway.

The most passive position in the story was perhaps given to the girl who resisted the regulation. Even though she appeared to be headstrong and uncompromising from the start she soon disappeared from the story. She was made a symbol of a conceivable resistance, an object that could be used to test the respect of the guides. Her position could also be linked to what could be termed legitimate disrespect, the upside of intolerance, a critical voice that stands up for herself and her convictions (she is not "lame"), a position from which it is possible to say no.

The central positions in the storyline were ideal in a way that they formed a utopia of sorts, where the most desirable ethical conduct the boys could imagine was hegemonic. The example also shows an idealization of following your heart and not yielding to someone else's will, but being free and independent selves (Ask 2014; Gustafsson 2004; Runfors 2003). However, being able to compromise is also highly esteemed in the story. The anonymous Muslim does let the woman enter the mosque without a robe or scarf after all.

That way our conversation became a discussion on viable strategies to handle situations when your principles or convictions are put to the test. A way we had learned to handle diversity was showing respect, in the sense of seeing the Other's position as plausible. All parties understood their respective convictions and were accommodating in spite of their convictions being challenged. The girl may have been more rigid, uncompromising and had a lot of integrity. But she came to the mosque, although she could not yield to the regulation of veiling she still wanted to visit the mosque. Just as in the interview with Pernilla this seemed to be the most desirable, to do the visit without compromising your convictions, ideas or critique. With Pernilla it was very articulate that it went not for Muslims only but for religious people in general.

Respect and Otherness in Sweden

In this article I have shown how the frequent talk of respect in relation to the guided tours of the mosque in Södermalm is footed in the handling of social inequality and the Othering of Swedish Muslims. It seems that is why it has been so important. The tours I participated in showed that respect is displayed in different ways but that the most obvious way is the sexed respect which involves wearing a robe to cover the hair and skin of the female visitors. Therefore, respect was often talked of and performed as a part of heterosexual dramaturgy. However, this was often done in negotiations with personal convictions of the visitors according to which veiling was an objectionable practice in general. Respect was thus performed as an accommodation to the Other, a national Other.

In Sweden, a country that many understand as secular or post-Christian (Thurfjell 2015), religion itself and religious practice seems to form a constitutive outside to Swedish national identity. According to David Thurfjell (2015:29, 202f), the secular attitude to religion in Sweden comprises a mild criticism of religion, but although many of the secular majority Swedes that he interviewed generally refrained from criticizing Islam they often used Islam and Muslims as specific ex-

amples when discussing religious issues. Therefore, Muslims hold a special position as a national Other in Sweden and are often used in discussing what is (un)acceptably different, especially when it comes to religious matters.

The relation between the religious and the national, the Muslim and the Swedish, has been a recurring theme in my data. There seems to be a sharp, although negotiable, line at religiosity when it comes to Swedishness. The national is a backdrop for discussions on universal values, sex and gender equality. The discourse on respect, concerning the guided tours of the mosque, is linked not only to the Muslim as a position of Otherness but to a religious person more generally as Other in Sweden, forming a constitutive outside of Swedishness. Even though this is valid for religious people in general it is more severe for Swedish Muslims, who are often made the example when speaking about religion in Sweden (Thurfjell 2015). The storyline that positions Swedes as self-evidently secular, nevertheless, is too simplified and uncomplicated. Ann af Burén (2015:218), in a study of people who defined themselves as (non-)religious and as part of the majority of Swedish people, shows that a common approach to religion amongst her interviewees was that they had a fragmented view and diverse simultaneity of ideas that stem from Christianity, Buddhism, witchcraft and science.

Yet, religion in itself seems to compound the possibility of making difference in relation to the Others in Sweden, where religious is often thought of as a dichotomous antithesis of secular. In his licentiate thesis, based on observations in classrooms and on Facebook, Anders Karlsson (2015) argues that the secular norm is strong in Swedish schools. He observed a class that watched a movie about a Mormon girl, and asserts that the pupils perceived her life as undemocratic and not free (Karlsson 2015:122). One of the stereotypes concerning Muslims is that they are often believed to have problems with becoming or being secularized (Gardell 2010:87). Such an attribute has not come about haphazardly but is linked to the making of Swedish self-images and a part of making difference with regard to Muslims. Like immigrants, Muslims become potential anti-citizens or quasi-citizens (Khosravi 2006:287). Just as Swedishness has an increasingly naturalised link to gender equality and tolerance (Towns 2002; Hübinette & Lundström 2011), it is also linked to the secular (Fazlhashemi 2009; Karlsson 2015). Secularism as a political idea requires tolerance and respect for other ways of living, even though there has been tension in the relations between the liberal values of the state and the role of the state church in Sweden as well as in Denmark (Berg-Sørensen 2006; see also Hägg 2008).

The role of religion is ambiguous and complex within nation formations, but currently an obvious trend is that states that have chosen to strive for secularism have an increasingly hard time fending off religious questions (Modood 2013:71; Yuval-Davis 2011). More pressure on assimilation co-exists with increased naturalization and legitimation of religion (Yuval-Davis 2011:137f). Confessional Muslim schools are an example of that. The Swedish state has granted permission to confessional schools, but they have to

abide by a curriculum that tells them to teach the pupils that no one religion is better than any other (Berglund 2010; Gustafsson 2004).

For Swedish Muslims Sweden might very well be spoken of as a country where there is a lack of religion (Ask 2014:154). Tariq Ramadan (2004) writes that Muslims in Europe have reacted to the secular in two different ways – one reactive and one subservient. The reactive approach comprises a withdrawal from society and the creation of enclaves wherein a conservative and traditional Muslim identity is cultivated. In contrast, the subservient approach has meant alienation from the Muslim identity and an unconditional surrender to the demands of the secular society. Fazlhashemi has summarized a similar approach in the sentence: A good Muslim is a former Muslim (Fazlhashemi 2009: 263). Further, Fazlhashemi says that there are a number of ways to approach the secular society with its belief in science – from Ramadan's position, which according to Fazlhashemi is characterized by assimilating science as long as it is not in conflict with Islam, to other positions that rather would see the religion and traditions changed to fit the European societies (Fazlhashemi 2009:262–274).

In this way the religious and the Muslim is reiterated as a difference and an Otherness in relation to Swedishness and secularism. With the focus I have had in my study, respect has stood out as a way of showing understanding for such a religious Otherness. The idea that Sweden is a secular nation produces a national body that is not only white with blond hair, but also secular. There seems to be a potential scepticism between the secular state and the religious representatives and a restrained criticism that motivates the respectfulness. As with Yasri Khan, Muslim seems to be useful to make examples and draw the lines for Swedishness. As I am sure there are many patriarchal traditions practised by Swedish politicians who are not Muslims that seldom get the same attention or effects, one might wonder why this case led to a withdrawal from the candidacy and why the prime minister felt it urgent to state that the greeting was not Swedish. It seems it was not most important to discuss his greeting practices from a gender equality perspective but rather to draw the line of Swedishness at a Muslim practice.

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Notes

1 This article is based on my thesis (Gunnarsson 2016) and the study of the guided tours of a mosque in Stockholm.
2 Visit www.sst.a.se for further information.

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Fieldwork

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Place-Making in the Late Nineteenth-Century American Southwest

By Eva Reme

Place may be created through science, visions, creativity and the longing for an alternative world. The actual place in question here is the desert areas in Southern California, Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, most of the Euro-Americans considered this territory as – to cite Anna Tsing – an "out-of-the-way place" (Clifford 1997:68). Entering a new century, this changed. Now the area had become an attractive place on the American map. How could this happen? Not only had the desert turned out to be a destination for explorers and researchers, also artists, authors, writers and photographers found their way to the southwest (Smith 2000; Padget 2004; Sandweiss 2002; Auerbach 2008; Hinsley 1992; Wilcox & Fowler 2002; Hamera & Bendixen 2009). The desert was for a while viewed as something resembling a meeting place for intellectuals (Smith 2000:8). They all made their contributions both to express and to communicate what they found special. In this manner they all became "place-makers". I will focus on the people, meanings and emotions which made this region a place. One of the questions is to what extent this process of place-making was motivated by visions, needs and longings for an alternative place.

The guide into the desert, and into its myths and what should be regarded as a magical landscape, will be the Norwegian-born photographer Frederick Imman Monsen. Compared to the many hundreds of Norwegian-American photographers (Lien 2009), he was an exception in that his photographical motifs are mainly portraits of American Indians and their landscapes in the southwest. Nevertheless, he is representative of the groups of intellectual elites who made this place come into being.

Place-Making

Many concepts have been applied to describe how the deserts in the southwest became so attractive. Judith Hamera and Alfred Bendixen (2009:3) use the term "create" to put forward what happened in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Martin Padget underpins how writers and photographers of the time *produced* the American Southwest (Padget 1995:424), while William Stowe refers to Yi-Fu Tuan to point out how the southwest landscape is "a construct of mind and feeling" (Stowe 2009:26). All the different verbs make it clear that the process from space to place is an active process, a dialogue that also includes tactile senses.

Much of the same processes applies to the term place-making. Barbro Klein, who has been engaged in migration, America and the new world, has chosen "place-making" to emphasize the process whereby immigrants select places, give them names, history and memories (Klein 2002: 6). This parallels much of the work associated with the photographers and explorers in the America Southwest. Moreover, place-making is a concept that can be traced back to Heidegger, who also emphasized "that we cannot exist independently of the world around us but also that the world around us cannot exist independent of the people who inhabit it" (Heidegger in Sen & Silverman 2014:3). In this way, people create places through methodical deliberation as well as through experiences that are not always carefully

considered. Likewise, Yi-Fu Tuan is cited for his use of the term place-making to highlight that "when space feels thoroughly familiar to us, it has become a place" (Othman 2013:556). To discover and create place does not primarily depend on technical instruments, but more on the dialogue between landscape, thoughts and senses. As Jonas Frykman emphasizes, places appear meaningful when they can be experienced with body and soul (2012: 40). This more or less phenomenological gateway to the southwestern areas fits the manner in which Frederick Monsen and his contemporaries made their way into the desert. That is also the reason they can be called place-makers. This open term encompasses both construction and consciousness, feelings and unconsciousness.

The southwestern regions on which Monsen and other travellers and explorers imposed their written and visual narratives were located in Southern California, Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico. These were not newly discovered territories, but according to Curtis Hinsley (1992:2), regions that from 1865 represented a landscape in an ambiguous position of contiguous but unincorporated space. Although the destiny was to be wholly incorporated in the United States, in the years after the Civil War it remained "largely unexplored, undefined, and unoccupied by peoples qualifying as American citizens. As such, it also stood in significant ways unmeasured and uncontrolled" (Hinsley 1992:2). In the 1880s, however, the transcontinental Santa Fe Railroad and the South Pacific Railroad entered northern New Mexico and Arizona and laid the foundation for busy traffic. Despite this, until the end of the nineteenth century there were areas looked upon as unregulated and secretive (Hinsley 1992:3). Those were first and foremost the "enchanted" desert where the Hopi, Navajo and Pueblo Indians lived. Euro-Americans described this as a territory full of secrets, with its mysterious cliff dwellings, hidden prehistoric relics and fascinating Indian dances. Nevertheless, this did not prevent the landscape from being considered "empty" (Hamera & Bendixen 2009:4), and hence extending an invitation to investigate and explore. Among those who accepted and felt drawn to the spell of the desert was Frederick Monsen.

Frederick Monsen, a Photographer in Love with the Desert

Frederick Monsen (1865–1929), who was born in Bergen and emigrated to America with his parents, was taught the art of photography by his father. Later he established his own photograph studio in San Francisco. Unfortunately, much of his picture collection was lost in the devastating earthquake and the fire in 1906. He saved some of his photos by burying them in the garden and he had previously deposited some with colleagues. In the aftermath of the catastrophe, he settled in Pasadena, California, where many of his fellow photographers already had their homes (Jutzi 1986).

Although he never managed to reconstruct his entire repertoire of photos, he became an acknowledged photographer in his time. Examples of his pictures may be found in several books presenting photographs of American Indians in general (Bush & Mitchell 1994; Current 1978; Fleming & Lusky 1993). The same ap-

plies to literature reflecting the popularity of the southwest landscape and the southwest Indians at the end of the century (Graulich 2003; Padget 2004; Sandweiss 2002; Auerbach 2008).

Frederick Monsen was a multifaceted ambitious man with many irons in the fire. He regarded himself as an artist, photographer, explorer, archaeologist, anthropologist, ethnologist and ethnographer. His articles and lecture brochures (Monsen 1907, 1910, 1913, 1925) leave no doubt that he regarded his skills in science and art as far above the average. Still, his indiscreet use of many titles was a practice shared by several others desert enthusiasts such as George Warton James (Smith 2000:148) and Charles Fletcher Lummis (Padget 2004:115). The use of numerous titles also indicates a time when the borders between different academic disciplines were blurred. At the time anthropology was an acknowledged discipline, which in the 1880s included ethnology and archaeology as well as "ranges of variation of human physical types, societies, cultures, and languages, past and present" (Wilcox & Fowler 2002:121). This was still, however, a period when it was possible to be "an anthropologist without portfolio" (Wilcox & Fowler 2002:127). Despite having no formal education, Monsen could style himself professor and be titled so by others. His scientific aspirations were expressed through membership of exclusive clubs as the Royal Geographical Society, the American Natural and Geographical Society and the American Anthropological Association, to name a few (Monsen 1907, 1925; VanderMeulen 1985). With a record like this, Monsen could present himself as an accomplished photographer with artistic talents and as a member of different scientific networks. No doubt, even if the term would have made no sense to him, he surely had the resources to act as a placemaker.

When it came to handling photographical technology, he holds a reputation as an entrepreneur. He was the first professional photographer who replaced the tripod camera with hand-held Kodak cameras. Simultaneously operating several cameras, he managed to take sequences of pictures that captured the instantaneous and the impulsive, which he considered typical of what the Indians "really" were like. He acquired the West Coast's largest magnifying apparatus and hand-coloured the images himself with imported colours from Japan (Jutzi 1986, Monsen 1925). The way of tackling his cameras and processing his pictures were methods to get hold of what he looked upon as genuine as regards both landscape and people. Frederick Monsen also became a well-known person to many Americans after touring the continent with his photographs and presenting what he called pictorial stories. His themes were the poor situation of the Indians, their genuine culture and his methods to get close to them take "natural", not arranged images.

Frederick Monsen's articles and brochures linked to his lectures show a man of high self-esteem, open to the world and deeply – intellectual and emotionally – engaged in his work. This was part of his luggage when he entered the desert, which during the last decades of the nineteenth century could be considered a *contact zone*, as James Clifford (1997) uses the term. He in turn borrowed the term from

Mary Louise Pratt who defined it as "the space of colonial encounters, the space in which people geographically and historically separated came into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (Clifford 1997:192). One can therefore imagine a community where different groups crossed each other's paths. Such meetings may have resulted in exchanges of opinion, both respectful and competitive. Euro-Americans were thrilled by the desert and the indigenous people that they regarded as part of a unique and incomparable nature. Their ambitions were to picture the scene, the primitives and their culture, artistically and scientifically according to existing patterns and through personal impressions. There was no shame in being the best. Nevertheless, their pursuits had common capabilities that made it possible to consider their results as collective ethnography or a collective place-making project. They all created guidelines for how to make one's way through the desert, and they all helped to specify the expectations for what to see and to experience.

The Creation of Paradise

Frederick Monsen no doubt fell in love with both the desert landscape and the Indians as – one may assume – did most the other desert travellers at the time. This could be anthropologists like George Dorsey and Walter Houge, writers such as George Wharton James, Charles Fletcher Lummis and Charles Francis Saunders, photographers like Karl Moon, Edward Curtis and C. C. Pierce, and may also have included the artist Elbridge Irving Couse and Ferdinand Lundgren, to mention just a few of them (Padget 2004:177; Smith 2000:14). What Frederick Monsen managed together with the many others desert travellers was to make the moods and meanings of the desert known to the world. For the Bergen-born photographer, the yellow desert sand and landscape shapes stretched into infinity and could in no way be captured through geographical coordinates. These areas lay as intersections between aesthetics and deep-felt existentialism. According to Monsen this was the place where one could experience:

> Glowing atmosphere, the vast stretches of sand that fairly pulsate with the light and the color, the towering cliffs of rugged, rich-hued rock, and the primitive, peaceful Indian folk who still live after the manner of their forefathers in villages that seem to have been part of it all since the morning of the world (Monsen 1910:168).

Motifs, colours and words roamed between science and art, between what was considered as facts and what was experienced as magic. Here it is tempting to reflect on Mikhail Bakhtin's ideas that highlight how neither time nor place has priority over one another. Through the concept of *chronotope,* Bakhtin explains how it is in the intersections between time and place that place becomes meaningful and that time assumes concrete and substantial forms, or where "time […] takes on flesh" (Bakhtin 1981:4). Through the crossing time-place axis, place emerges as a distinctive entity, separated from the space around it (Bakhtin 1981:4). Hence, the desert stands out as a unique place where the indigenous people's steps in the soft sands are movements which may be followed back to the beginning of time. Bakhtin links the chronotope to authors of novels.

Storm at Hopi pueblo of Walpi, first Mesa, Arizona. Reproduced with permission from Braun Research Library Collection.

One of his points is that the "author-creator" may exist as a link between the fictive world and the world of the realities. This "creator" perspective points at the transformation process involved when the landscape may be captured in photographs as well. The gaze with which Monsen and his colleagues observed their special place parallels the chronotope Bakhtin has named the idyllic, briefly defined "as locus for the entire life process" (Bakhtin 1981:229).

Monsen and the desert explorers were breathing in the air of infinity, materialized in the huge stretches of sand. To visualize this landscape and the American Indians was difficult, even Frederick Monsen had to admit that. Still, he could defend his place-maker status with reference to his engagement in science and his artistic talents that, according to Bakhtin, might have given him the status of an "art-creator". Monsen declared the desert to be a place "of unparalleled richness" only possible for an artist who had "the power and the understanding to find and express what is there" (Monsen 1910: 168). In this manner, Monsen photographed the desert as a fascinating "untouched" world, close to imaginations of Paradise. Jerold Auerbach states that biblical metaphors were common in the second half of the nineteenth century. As a response to the many dramatic changes in society, he views "[the] discovery – or, more precisely, creation – of the Southwest as an American Eden" (Auerbach 2008:7). In the desert, time and place were local, but made it self-recognizable as something all human and something enchanted and authentic.

The desert was expressed as holy and given to mankind as such. Yet, at the same time it was rooted in individual experi-

ences and impressions. As such, the desert was also Frederick Imman Monsen's special place. Here industrialism, capitalism and materialism were absent, here he could feel solidarity with people who still lived in harmony with nature, and here he could feel the unity of the authentic and unspoiled (Akin 1907). The excursions away from the civilized world became an "inner" journey to the "real" and the eternal. Frederick Monsen was without a doubt a thorough anti-modernist. Perhaps it was not so strange that Monsen took out the deeper colours from his watercolour box when a world like this was to be presented. Still, Monsen was far from the only one who appreciated this magical world. Many of the authors, photographers and explorers of the desert expressed their doubts about the new industrial world, writes Sherry Smith. She has pointed out how "the middle and upper classes who exercised a considerable culture power – looked for alternatives" (Smith 2000:8). The southwest landscape, the indigenous people faithful to their sacred rituals and crafts, represented the opposite to the destructive powers ruling the urban centres. Not only the desert but also "Indians were among the most important symbols used to critique the modern" writes the historian Philip Deloria (in Auerbach 2008:7). The physical place also became an inner mental landscape for Monsen and so many others of his time. It has been noted that never was a place created upon so much aesthetical individuality. This is not strange, as the desert did not only represent a different world, but also an alternative place. Here a radical person could find a community based on nature and an authentic culture that embodied what could not be found in a progressive modern America.

Cliff Dwelling and the Search for an American History

Among those who have expressed rather negative evaluations of the American photographers is unsurprisingly, Susan Sontag. She argues that the contemporary photographer "is not simply the person who records the past, but the one who invents it [...] through his eyes the now becomes the past" (Sontag 1978/2002:65). Hence, the camera is represented as an instrument with a capacity to twist and transform reality.

Frederick Monsen would agree about the power the camera might possess. Still, he would likely distance himself from the viewpoints expressed by Sontag. To him his cameras and his artistic gifts made the imprints of the enchanted place come through. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to interpret photos like these as portraits of the contemporary explorers themselves. The photographs represent a conventional genre where the Indians have no place in the picture. Here, the focus is on the enigmatic cliff ruins and the lonely photographer. These pictures are also found in the photographical collection Monsen himself left behind. They show a passionate and enthusiastic explorer who observed steep cliff walls and secretive cliff dwellings. "Spread Throughout the vast Navajo landscape, remains of the Stone Age people's cliffs whisper to us the story of a dead, buried and forgotten past", declared an excited Frederick Monsen (1907b:51).

Portraits of the cliff dwellings and the explorer were published in many of his lecture brochures referring to his adven-

Ruins of a Forgotten Race. The Frederick Monsen Collection. Reproduced with permission from Kristina W. Foss.

turous feats. He also cited the *Los Angeles Times* from 1886 which refers to Frederick Monsen as one of the first to make the world recognize the great archaeological treasures hidden in the desert sand (Monsen 1909). This is one way to understand the pictures. Whether this is the best way or not is of no importance, although it indicates a certain competition among the desert photographers and like-minded people.

Moreover, there were further understandings linked to the photos. The inexplicable parts of history were a topic that concerned many in the late 1800s. With the Indians out of sight, it was less problematic to discuss whether the desert landscape and the cliff ruins belonged to the Indians' territory or not. Based on the ruins, one could speculate as to whether America had its own remote golden age that had reached its peak long before the era of civilization. Could the cliff ruins serve as evidence of a history that was to be found long before the Navajo, Hopi and Pueblo Indians occupied the landscape? In that case, the photographs pointed back to a past parallel to the pyramids of Egypt and the temples in Athens (Sandweiss 2003:78).

Opposite views highlighted connections between the cliff ruins and the existing Indian villages built of clay. Frederick Monsen shared this view. He claimed that the ruins represented a form of primitivism that pointed back to "how Americans lived and died long before 'the paleface' came and brought destruction" (Monsen 1907b:21). Many shared Monsen's opinions, but how could one celebrate a culture that was to decimated through assimilation? A strategic solution emerged gradu-

ally. The rare cavernous settlements could be considered as part of the grand American nature. The responsibility would automatically fall to the US authorities who ruled over knowledge and resource management (Sandweiss 2003:78–80). The "empty" desert was now, with the help of Monsen and his colleagues, in the process of becoming a national historical place.

Playgrounds and Monuments

Scholars at the end of the nineteenth century were, as several generations before them, still occupied with the origins of the American Indians. The accurate descriptions of the indigenous people towards the end of the 1800s were not only a means to categorize the different groups of the original American inhabitants, but also a way to obtain more information about a mysterious past (Wilcox & Fowler 2002: 160–172). This might also have been a motivation for Monsen's physiological observations found in his articles and as captions attached to his pictures. About the Hopi, he noticed:

> [They] are rather small of stature, but muscular and agile. Both sexes have reddish brown skin, rather high cheekbones, a straight broad nose, slanting eyes, and large mouths with gentle expression (Monsen 1907a:51).

Descriptions like these may seem contradictory to his photographs, where emotions and empathy dominate. This is certainly not the case. By the end of the century, Franz Boas was already well known as an anthropologist to scholars working in the southwest. He had developed what has been labelled a holistic anthropology which included "archaeology, linguistics, cultural anthropology and physical anthropology (Fowler 2000:240). As such, descriptions based on distant observations could be combined with reflections and methods founded on closeness and empathy. Boas himself generated, with the help of assistants and local professional photographers, more than three thousand pictures, mostly of body types, precisely to "resolve the question of Native American origins" (Pinney 2012:45). About the same time researchers such as Frank Hamilton Cushing and James Mooney, both working among the American Indians in the southwest, had "initiated what later generation would call 'participant observation'" (Wilcox & Fowler 2002: 165). These were methods also employed by Boas. When new ideas and ideals reached the southwest, the American Indians' way of life came to be regarded as a unique culture that had to be understood in its own right (Wilcox & Fowler 2002: 165).

Put in context, the physical reports of the indigenous Americans made by Frederick Monsen were in accordance with the scientific norms at the time. He saw himself as both an archaeologist and an anthropologist who followed the academic practice of his time. When it came to fieldwork, he perceived himself as a specialist far above the average. In the early 1890s Monsen spent several periods doing fieldwork by living among the Indians. "Before I could understand the Indian, I had to learn how to get behind his eyes, – to think as he thought, to live as he lived, and to become, so far as possible for a white man, an accepted member of the society" (Monsen 1910:165). From Monsen's point of view, this was the only way to create pictures that conveyed the authenticity of the indigenous.

Hopi boys from Walpi, Arizona. Given to Bergen Museum by Monsen when he visited Bergen in 1912. *Braun Research Library Collection*.

Eagle Watchers. Reproduced with permission from The Frederick Monsen Collection. Kristina W. Foss.

In his articles, he pointed out how essential the fieldwork was. It made him friends of the Indians and it resulted in knowledge few others possessed (Monsen 1910:166).

With the desert experienced as a vanishing paradise, the American Indians were localized in the land of the past. Unlike America's growing cities, this was a place for freedom of movement and spontaneity. Frederick Monsen, as an artist, photographer and researcher, took pride in conveying life as it unfolded among his new friends. Using his handheld cameras, he took several pictures in sequences so that bodies, suppleness and

fast movements could be captured. Playing with the children, he felt he came close and his presence did not affect the young ones. To Monsen these photographs expressed the true and natural life of the Indians in general. The pictures demonstrated two points. Firstly, this is a primitive breed in both physical and mental terms. The second point refers to a hard and free life that has led to the development of strong bodies adapted to their life and environment (Monsen 1907a:41). The impulsiveness and "primitive breed" of the Indians characterized both the people and the place. Due to his special photographic techniques and his fieldwork, he was among the very few – or the only one, he thought – who could capture this phenomenon. This primitive and innocent way of being that the children demonstrated could be recognized in all the Navajo, Hopi and Pueblo people in general. Observing and playing with the youngsters, he tried to grasp the spontaneous rhythm that characterized the Indians.

For Monsen the more distant physiological description and his subjective portraits coloured with closeness and empathy were part of a whole. Some of his contemporaries found his pictures too romantic, close pictorialism that represented a photographical genre close to art. Monsen did not recognize these claimed resemblances. This genre was something he associated with Edward Curtis and other photographers he disliked for their artificial photographs. They represented cameramen who dressed up their subjects and manipulated both the light and the landscape in the pictures. Monsen photographed "real" life. Magical sand swirls toward the sky and distinctive cliffs influenced everyday life and daily activities. Beautiful bodies and harmonious faces reflected harmonious souls and innocent minds.

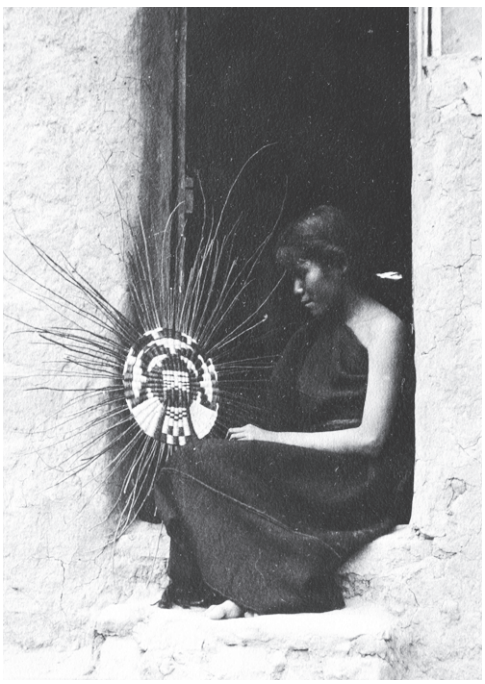
Frederick Monsen, like so many of his contemporaries, viewed the Indians as representatives of a distant Stone Age. Still his respect for them was profound and his stays with them alternated between joy and melancholy. Hence it was not at random he named one of the photographs "The Bronze Study". In the endless desert landscape, he portrayed a young girl in half-profile. She is naked, she has tousled hair and she is sitting with her long legs stretched out on a cliff that resembles a continental shelf. Through the caption, he makes her body shine in bronze metal. It is not difficult to interpret the photo as a monumentalization and sacralization of the Indian Monsen imagined had "been here since the dawn of time" (Monsen 1907a:52). Like the Euro-Americans in general, he was convinced that the Indians' days as Indians were numbered. The whites' way of life was about to take over and Monsen, with his declared closeness to the Indians, saw it as his duty to create a memorial of the American Indians and their culture. The Bronze Study is a monument and an honour to a people, a place and a time on the verge of disappearing.

Pierre Nora (1989) has underlined how towards the end of the nineteenth century one could feel that rural life and traditions were about to change. This led to an increased willingness to create monuments to remember and never forget what once

had been important. The girl on the cliff is young, but that makes Monsen's motif reflect the ambivalence that Nora sees as characterizing monuments. They accentuate contradictions such as "life and death", "time and eternity", "sacred and profane", the "collective and the individual" (Nora 1989:19). These oppositions are applicable both to the girl and to the place she inhabits. Frederick Monsen has photographed the desert as a magical, enchanted but also memorial site.

Art, Crafts and Ceremonies

Monsen, and contemporaries, felt that the connection between people and place came to light in the admiration of the Indians' arts and crafts. He took pictures of them as they were about to weave rugs, braid baskets or forming jars. These were photographs intended to show how the people, landscape and culture were intertwined in one another. Expert hands encased in tradition shaped authentic and unique objects. In the view of Monsen and other anti-modernists, the Indians' crafts became a storage for fundamental human values that were part of a holistic existence in general (Padget 2004:206). Frederick Monsen was thrilled and captivated by the desert people's material culture; it was the shapes, decor and the secrets they could tell about the place, the people and the culture. Well into the new century, this craftsmanship was still one of Monsen's central and recurring themes. One of his articles was typically titled "The Destruction of Our Indians: What Civilization Is Doing to Extinguish an Ancient and Highly Intelligent Race by Taking Away Its Arts Industries and Religion" (Monsen 1907d). The main message was clear. The



Hopi Basket Weaver. Reproduced with permission from The Frederick Monsen Collection. Kristina W. Foss.

"white man's" knowledge should not be forced upon the Indians. It was important to realize that there was a market for their distinctive and beautifully decorated baskets, textiles and silver work. He did his very best to oppose to "the destruction of ancient craft and the attempt to replace them by modern commercial work that is practically valueless as well as hideous and commonplace" (Akin 1907:5). The historian Curtis Hinsley regards the interest in the art and the craft produced by the American Indians in the period as a rebellion against the depersonalization due to modern industrial life and its products. "Indian cultures offered models of authenticity and non-historical stasis that stood in strong contrast to industrial America"

(Hinsley 1992:16). This is also the opinion of the historian Don Fowler, who argues that a "central tenet of the modernists art movement was the rejection of effete academic representational art as corrupt product of a decadent civilization" (Fowler 2000:353). He also adds that some of the modernists saw "primitive art" as "real art" since it was produced by real, natural (and not artificial, civilized) people (Fowler 2000:353). The aesthetic view of the handmade objects was also a view that captured the genuine and harmonious daily life of the indigenous people. The objects crafted by the Indians were a way to "fill" the place of something that was part of the life, the landscape and the homage of art and craft was part of the place-making.

The aesthetic appreciation of Indian art was important for the Euro-American adventures in the southwest. An approach like this can be regarded as part of a strategic method in the creation of the new narrative about the American Indian. The narrative of the Indians as barbarians and brutes was replaced by a story of people with creative skills rooted in traditions.

The vast and broad interest in the American Indians and their territories made the different place-making agents function like a collective endeavour. Often it was the same attraction, such as the dances, which lured travellers to the "secret" and sacral places. The Bird Dance, the Flute Dance, not to mention the Hopi Snake Dance, would eventually attract throngs of travellers. No one with a sketch book or a camera would leave the desert without some written or visual references to these dances (Bush 1994; Fleming 1993; Padget 2004). So was it too for Frederick Monsen, who indicated in his photographs how he let himself be carried away by the movements, the body paint and the snakes that curled up between the Indians' teeth. He interpreted the dances as a poetic tribute to nature, to the sun, the earth, the clouds and rain. They demonstrated how nature was inscribed in body and mind (Monsen 1907d:72). Hardly any of his descriptions are as enthusiastic and inspired as when he describes the conclusion of the Flute Dance where the Hopi dancers converge in their sacred circle with torches held high above their heads:

> There are no words for all the ghostly beauty of that scene, the silver moonlight, the sharp ink-black shadows, through which the torches show like smoky yellow points of flame, the white night, the wide silence, and the creeping chill in the air (Monsen 1907d:59).

Monsen believed his representations of the desert were more real, more genuine due to his skills to capture the magical atmosphere. He could handle his camera and he was certainly among those who could deal with words. However, he was not alone. The dances had become something of a standard highlight in written as well as in visual imageries (Smith 2000; Padget 2006; Fowler 2000).

The impressions made by authors, photographers, artists, even researchers and tourists, appeared surprisingly unanimous despite their various forms. They were all contributions to the story of the desert and transformed the earlier "empty" spaces into adventures and attractive places. Thus, the making of the American Southwest turned out to be close to a collective biography that mirrored the place-makers'

conceptions, experiences and impressions.

From Memorial Sites to Tourist Adventures

Through his travels and stays in the desert, Frederick Monsen felt he had found a place, a people and a culture with roots from the dawn of time. Here he pursued his research interests, satisfying his longing for adventure and an alternative life horizon. At the turn of the century, however, this magic world was in transformation. In Frederick Monsen's photos, between dancing Indians in ritual cloth, one could also catch glimpses of the Euro-American middle-class men in bright suits and desert hats accompanied by women in long skirts and lace blouses. Several of them even had their own cameras. Adam Vroman, friend and colleague of Monsen, counted 40 tourists who observed the Hopi Indians' famous Snake Dance in 1897. Two years later, in 1899, the number had risen to 200 persons (Graulich 2003:82). In the new decades in the twentieth century thousands of tourists found their way to the enchanted desert that had become a destination for urban travellers in search of the exotic and authentic. The scientific manifestations with references to nature as well as a prehistoric culture were of course an extra bonus, even an inspiration to look for relics themselves. Eventually it became quite chaotic, Indian agents intervened, professional photographers were referred to special areas where only selected ceremonies and activities could now be observed. The photographer Adam Vroman described how impossible the situation had become. The photographers stumbled into one another, struck each other's tripods and nudged each other's camera lenses.

> Half a dozen or more Indian policemen led by acting agents kept us in line, so we had to go ahead and make the best of it. The pictures of spontaneous traditional life had come to an end and the Indians were paid for posing (Vroman in Fleming & Lusky 1993:145).

The Indians gradually realized the economic potential the tourists brought. Now they themselves could direct the performances of ceremonies and traditions. Authentic impressions became a basis for economic transactions.

Here it is tempting to use Anna Tsing's term "friction" which she has reserved for "the awkward unequal, unstable and creative qualities of interconnection across differences" (Tsing 2005:4). Tsing writes about the transformations of Indonesian Borneo's landscapes in the 1980–1990s and focuses on agents with divergent interests and competing agendas. Despite differences in place and time, it is possible to observe parallels to the events that unfolded in the southwestern deserts. Here actors such as archaeologists and anthropologists, artists and authors, photographers and explorers shared interest but still challenged each other. Their background from the American continent and Europe made them an uneven group but bound them together through common interest and common longing for what was different from their own world. They met the American Indians with curiosity and empathy, unaware that they were overstepping borders belonging to "the other". They encountered the original Americans as a people living in nature, of nature and in pact with nature. They regarded the indigenous peoples as if they had their roots

in biblical places like Paradise and Eden. The meetings between the different groups were not only a New World against an Old World, but also an encounter between explorers and explored. This could not happen without frictions that became more noticeable and palpable when tourists entered the landscape. They had their expectations as the groups of anti-modernists had their visions, and these did not always coincide. For the experts and experienced people like Frederick Monsen it became increasingly problematic to continue the role as researchers in an enigmatic "untouched" landscape. The frictions and frustrations for both parties grew even more when the "primitives" took hold of the situation and demanded money for being watched and for the observations of their dance performances. Some decades into the new century, the desert of Eden was turned into a crowded place.

Nevertheless, Monsen and the others who could handle cameras, watercolour brushes, notebooks and archaeological instruments, had described the desert and its people, they had visualized rituals and handicraft, they had measured cliff dwellings and brushed sand off old relics. Through these efforts, what once were considered "empty" was now "filled". It had become a place to identify with. It had been a local place where names like the Grand Canyon and the Painted Desert lured tourists from far away. It was not solely in museums in the southwest that items from the desert landscape were stored. The indigenous people's culture acquired the of cultural heritage and their landscape, once looked upon as an "out-of-the-way place" was transformed at the beginning of the new century into a national geography whereby it "came to characterize America itself as nature's nation distinct from Europe's claim as the historical backdrop of civilization" (Sears in Campbell 2011:13). As such, the place also attained international status, a place visible on the global map as something special and something valued.

In Need of a Place

In the end, it is natural to ask what Frederick Monsen did when it became difficult to continue his career as a courageous explorer. He did not leave the Indians, but changed his path and became one of the best-known lecturers and popularizers of the life of the Pueblo, Navajo and Hopi Indians.

By the end of the nineteenth century the Santa Fe Railroad had made the desert accessible. For tourists to take full advantage of their trips, the train companies offered free tickets to writers and photographers who were willing to give lectures on Indian landscape and culture. Among those who accepted this offer was Frederick Monsen, who with his slide lectures and pamphlets (Monsen, 1907d, 1913, 1925) helped to implement what we today would call adventure or knowledge tours. Because Monsen was so committed to and enthusiastic about his relationship with the Indians, it might almost seem as if he virtually sold his Indian friends to the tourists. From Monsen's point of view, it was the opposite. His new project working for the railway service was his way to change the Euro-American attitudes towards America's Indians. Martin Padget (2004:195) underlines that photographers as well as writers considered that their task as tourist guides was a way to break

down the Euro-American ethnocentrism. In this connection, Frederick Monsen may also be regarded as one of the early advocates of what has been named cultural relativism. That should not come as a surprise due to his enthusiasm for the American Indians. As late as 1907, he stated, just as insistently and emotionally as before, that:

> Some day when it is too late, we may realize what we have lost by "educating" the Indian, and forcing him to accept our more complex but far inferior standards of life, work and art. These sound like strong statements, but let any man who doubts their truth take a journey through the Painted Desert and live for a while with these gentle brown children of an ancient race. The chances are that he would find himself the learner instead of the teacher, and if he had ears to hear and eyes to see, the spell of the Desert would be upon him all his days (Monsen 1907c:691).

Frederick Monsen continued to make his tours virtually all over the nation until he died in 1929. He showed his lantern slides and lectured about the Hopi, Navajo and Pueblo Indians' ways of life and about his own experiences and adventures. With his hand-painted glass slides, he found his ways to institutions and societies that spread from Harvard University and the National Museum in Washington DC to women's societies as well as press and military unions (Monsen 1925:11). The audience let themselves be fascinated both by the pictures and by Monsen himself. "Mr. Monsen is the first artist to paint on glass for optical projection, and the results show in the colour and atmospheric effect secured – no one has been able to secure anything like them before", one could read in the *New York Herald* (Monsen 1925:10). Theodore Roosevelt found "Mr. Monsen's collection of photographs the most beautiful he ever had seen and Monsen the best lecturer he had ever heard" (Monsen 1925:2). The Catholic Women's Society in California found his presentation "sympathetic" and refined, his stories appeal strongly to cultivated audiences" (Monsen 1925:4).

Frederick Monsen had photographed both the desert landscape and his own "mindscape". Nigel Thrift has highlighted how some locations can be emotionally tuned from the start or else become tuned over time (Thrift in Frykman 2012:52). That was exactly part of Monsen's ambitions, namely, to catch the sand, the red clouds, the smiles and the movements from unknown times. Together with other explorers, scientists, artists and photographers, he took part in a large place-making process. When they succeeded, it may very well have been a result not only based on skills and strategies, but also on their creativity, their pictures, novels and narratives. As place-makers they infused the landscape with magic and secrets. Maybe they did it for humankind, but certainly they lived in an America where the need for an alternative place was felt. Perhaps it was here, out in the desert in the southwest, the first American anti-modernists – or the first of the American radicals – encountered each other.

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Wild Animals in Human Assistance

Historical Practices, Semiotic Grounds and Future Prospects

By Riin Magnus and Ingvar Svanberg

Although the recent "animal turn" in the humanities (along with the post-humanities turn) exhibits a critical programme of the Enlightenment concept of man (Wolfe 2009), it has also brought a broader interest in the diversity of human-animal relations. This is reflected in the variety of disciplines that have addressed the topic in the past decades, from anthropology/ethnology (Mullin 2002; Kohn 2007; Kirksey & Helmreich 2010; Samuelsson & Svanberg 2016, Smart 2014, Strecker & Svanberg 2014, Svanberg & Arluke 2016) to human geography (Whatmore 2006; Lorimer & Driessen 2016) and semiotics (Tønnessen 2010; Martinelli 2010; Magnus 2015; Maran 2015). The relationships covered by these studies reveal different modes of relating to animals in various cultures and historical epochs (Descola 1996; Erikson 2000). Some of the studies lay stress on the transitions of humanity and animality (e.g. Potts 2007), whereas others focus on the encounters of humans and other animals as instances of meeting the "other", which result either in dialogue (Patton 2003; Grandin & Johnson 2006) or in certain forms of defamiliarization (Berger 1991).

This article will merge the questions about transition and dialogue while discussing the diversity of ways wild animals have provided assistance for humans. The helper animals discussed in the paper extend, as it were, the human organism (and in several cases the humans extend also the animal) in its struggle for certain means of subsistence. On the other hand, the employment of animals in such a function demands attention to the other species' needs, and although the relation can turn out to be one of mere dominance, the paper will reveal cases where the consideration of mutual interests is of significance. We will thereby concentrate on the ecological and semiotic processes that underlie such inter-specific relations. The theoretical grounds of the paper are developed as extensions of the *Umwelt* theory of Jakob von Uexküll (Uexküll 1909; Uexküll & Kriszat 1934), while historical and ethnographic sources provide the empirical material. To examine the scope of relationships between people and animals, we use data from many human societies. The cross-cultural samples chosen are given in order to illustrate the complexity and variation of wild animals as human assistants (cf. Serpell 1996:60–72). The selected examples serve to stress the diversity of human and helper animal relations, both in terms of functions and ways of establishing the relations, rather than to provide a detailed account of each case. The application of *Umwelt* theory helps to highlight how turning to other species for assistance or help has not only contributed to the development and expansion of synanthropic behaviour, but has also brought along a higher convergence of signs and meanings between humans and other species. Depending on the similarities and differences of the human and the other species' *Umwelten*, people have also had to employ different strategies to bring about a meaning change in the animal, which is necessary for the particular function of help. In the current paper, we will use *Umwelt* mainly as an organizing principle for different kinds of interspecific relations. Although the term *Umwelt* designates the whole set of meaningful objects of an animal, we will focus on those which

provide the shared ground of activity for human and non-human subjects.

We designate as human assistants those animals which mediate the fulfilment of certain human functions, tasks and activities thanks to their specific sensory and behavioural characteristics. The topic is explored from a historic as well as a prospective stance. The animals discussed in the study attend to objects that humans also find to be of use, but lack or need to supplement the means to access and process those objects. The study is hence limited to animals which, in their assistance function, exhibit at least some sort of agency and which are employed in the acquisition or guarding of resources. Wild animals which are tamed in order to be used as resources (e.g. for food, clothing or medicine) are not included in the current study, nor are animals whose behaviour has been interpreted as an omen (Lévi-Strauss 1962:73–74; Svanberg 2008) or those who have been used simply as live bait (van Beek 2013; Litvak & Mandrak 1993). We also do not include harvesting species such as wild bees and various rodents that had their stores of food plundered repeatedly by humans (Crane 1999:43–103; Ståhlberg & Svanberg 2010).

Although tamed wild animals kept as companion animals in the same way as domestic pets provide human individuals or families with enhanced emotional and psychological well-being, this is also left out of the discussion here (Erikson 2000). Birds kept merely as amusement for their song, birds used in song contests and birds in blood sports (cockfights) are not dealt with here either. The use of owls and other bird species as living decoys for hunting purposes will also be left out of our discussion (Cock 2014).

Based on the knowledge of the animal's ecological relations and cognitive capacities, different strategies have been used to obtain help from certain taxa. We will discuss them using the example of wild animals used as helpers in fishing. However, we will demonstrate that it is not the established ecological relations of the animal *per se* that matter in the choice of certain species for human functions, but how those relations appear in the light of human meanings and interests. No strict temporal or spatial limits are set to the cases discussed in the analysis. Our examples given here are used to mark and exemplify the types of animal assistance delineated on different ecological and semiotic grounds. Several questions raised in connection with the latter are addressed. Do humans and wild animals share the same species of predators and prey? Is an object which one strives for something that the other wants to get rid of? Can they help each other in reaching and obtaining juxtaposed objects? Many historical usages of wild animals have been abandoned today. We will therefore finally consider the reasons why the species have in many cases ceased to serve the role of human helpers and what the prospects are for those human and non-human animal relations.

Background

Domestication has been characterized as "the most profound transformation that has occurred in human-animal relationships" (Russell 2002:285). However, human societies have also always made use of interaction with wild animals for a large

array of purposes, especially in food-providing activities such as fishing, hunting and gathering, and have tamed them as guardian animals or as comfort animals for company and toys (Serpell 1996; Ståhlberg & Svanberg 2012). Animals have also helped in a variety of ways to cure people in traditional and modern societies from various ailments (Serpell 2010). Wild animals living under captive conditions have furthermore provided ecosystem services of crucial importance for the survival of human societies. Examples are bumblebees cultured for agricultural use as pollinators, mussels kept for removing bacteria and toxins in estuaries, and cyprinids kept in ponds and lakes as aquatic weed controllers (Chardonnet *et al*. 2002; Olsén & Svanberg 2016). Similarly to phytoremediation, the term zooremediation has been suggested to denote the use of animals in the remediation and stabilization of (aquatic) ecosystems (Gifford *et al*. 2007). It is of course possible to make a long list of how people benefited from other species' behaviour, foraging and abilities in their search for food and other public goods. Some can be described as more or less kleptoparasitic behaviour of humans; others are symbiotic interrelationships between *Homo sapiens* and other taxa.

Among the human activities which have involved the assistance of wild species, hunting and fishing are the most prominent ones. A fascinating example of how wild animals have assisted humans in their food search is given by Pliny the Elder (Book IX: 9), describing how dolphins in Nismer helped fishermen to capture fish. In this relationship, both species benefited from each other. There is more recent evidence of the same kind of relationships. We have for instance an ethnographic record from the 1870s of how Irrawaddy dolphins, *Orcaella brevirostris*, assisted fishermen in India to chase fish into their nets. The local fishermen claimed that particular dolphins were associated with specific fishing villages. Legal claims were frequently brought into local courts by fishermen to recover a share of the fish from the nets of a rival fisherman which the plaintiff's dolphin was claimed to have helped fill (Anderson 1879:361). This ethnographic evidence is confirmed by a recent study from Burma. Tint Tun reports in his gripping study that in the upper reaches of the Ayeyawady River, Irrawaddy dolphins drive fish towards fishermen who cast their nets in response to acoustic signals from them. In return, the dolphins are rewarded with some of the fishermen's by-catch (Tun 2014).

Another interesting example is given by Carl Linnaeus who in 1732 observed how the Arctic skua, *Stercorarius parasiticus*, indicated with its behaviour to the fishermen along the coast of the province of Ångermanland where the Baltic herring, *Clupea harengus*, were in the sea (Linnaeus 1913:43). Eagles, falcons and other raptors have since time immemorial been used for hunting mammals and birds in many parts of Eurasia. Falconry is a hunting practice known already in Asian ancient cultures (Cock 2014:152–170). In old Russia, the great grey shrike, *Lanius excubitor*, was sometimes trained for catching small birds (Bowden 1869:124). The use of birds for hunting is known from many parts of the world (Soma 2014). The Dene people of Alaska, to give

just one example, have traditionally trained ravens, hawks and other birds of prey to sight and hunt game for them, but also to alert them of danger. Even wild geese were trained to spot game for their keepers (Russell & West 2003:37–38).

Ethnographic descriptions from various parts of the world are full of such testimonies of how wild animals, either tamed or by developing a kind of symbiotic relationship, have helped humans in many ways. They have been turned into human helpers and providers (e.g. Gilmore 1950; Ståhlberg & Svanberg 2012).

The Concept of Animals as Helpers

In our study we aim at drawing attention to the diversity of human and non-human animal relationships by observing the mid-space and transition zones of the established polarities of human-animal interactions. The group of animals discussed in the article – wild animals in human assistance – are wild if compared to domestic animals, but they are still tamed or attracted to human environments. They do not serve as resources themselves for humans and yet they contribute to the acquisition or removal of some items that are of interest also for man. However, there are several points of critique that might be raised against the compilation of a category of helper animals, which we would like to forestall with the following clarifications. First, the terms "helper animals" or "animals in human assistance" might evoke instrumentalist connotations and similarly to the recent expansion of the "service animals" concept, in terms of both species and functions, might be subjected to criticism about the inherent dominionism and treatment of animals as unexploited resources (see Malamud 2013: 36).

Although helper animals are not exploited for their nutritional or energy value and it is their species-specific behaviour that ultimately serves as a value for humans, one cannot deny the instrumental touch of the relationship. On the other hand, the natural adaptations of the animals limit the functions they can carry out and hence are determinative factors in the development of their relations with humans. In addition, often it is the presence of certain environments (semi-natural communities, gardens, urban parks, etc.) rather than direct human-non-human animal influences that matters in the establishment of such interspecific contacts (Kinzelbach 1999).

Highlighting helper animals might also be seen as a reiteration of the age-old division of animals into useful animals and pests. We try to back away from the essentialist linking of species to their beneficial or detrimental quality and instead demonstrate how different human activities with the same species can also shift the meanings it is endowed with. From the opposite side, objections might be raised against anthropomorphizing animals by attributing to them abilities of providing help which they do not possess. Indeed, the ethological definitions of animal assistance are narrower than the definition used in this article. In cognitive ethological terms, instrumental help, as one type of pro-social behaviour, has to comprise a motivational and cognitive component that is a recognition of the other's goal and the motivation to help (Warneken & Tomasello 2009:457). The presence of such altruistic behaviour

has been experimentally demonstrated only in a few social species (cf. Bräuer *et al*. 2013). However, the term "assistance" in the current article is used as a functional concept and in this sense animals may not provide help in cognitive terms, but their behaviour might still result in such an effect for humans.

The reasons for seeking support from wild animals range from the simple lack of other devices to acquire the desired resources for religious reasons, e.g. among Brahmins and Buddhists who have not been allowed to kill animals themselves, but who were free of guilt if the killing was done by another animal (Brandt 1972: 15). In some cases, the animal's ability to gather a significant amount of some resource in a limited time may be of primary importance (e.g. diving birds that drive the fish swarms). In other cases it is the selectivity and specialization to some resource that has turned human attention to the animal's activity.

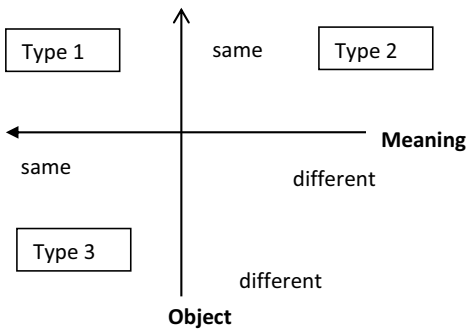
The Ecological and Semiotic Grounds of Animal Assistance

The existing ecological relationships between human and non-human animals can be both relied on and preserved (e.g. by symbiosis) or subjected to modification (e.g. from competition to commensalism) in the process of obtaining help from animals. In semiotic terms, the shaping and reshaping of the relationship between humans and helper animals can be explained through the convergence or divergence of meanings of certain environmental objects.

Ecological relations were placed on semiotic grounds already by the Baltic German biologist Jakob von Uexküll at the beginning of the twentieth century. Uexküll's work is mostly known these days for his introduction of the term *Umwelt* as a species-specific phenomenal world (Uexküll 1909; cf. Hoffmeyer 1998:40). The *Umwelt* of an animal consists of objects that are meaningful for the animal as well as the cues (olfactory, visual, acoustic, etc.) an animal uses to recognize and obtain those objects. On the one hand, the sensory ecology and the signs that the animal perceives and acts upon separate it from other organisms which rely on a different set of sensory cues and meaningful objects. On the other hand, the cues that the organism perceives also connect it with other organisms which serve as sources of the cues in an ecological web. Uexküll's work has later been criticized for his too rigid treatment of ecological relations, which leaves little space for their transformation (Stjernfelt 2001:86; Tønnessen 2009:47).

Yet, the same criticism has at the same time served as a basis for the discussion about the underlying mechanisms of semiotic change (see Hoffmeyer 2004; Tønnessen 2011). The use of wild animals as human helpers is also an instance of such a change, which ensues from the meeting of two *Umwelten* and their mutual accommodation in the process of taming and attraction. It is thus not only the use of resources that is changed due to the novel relationship, but also the perception, cognition and the corresponding apprehension of the environment of the involved species. In the following, we will observe how the existing ecological and semiotic relations between humans and animals contribute to the choice of means for taming or attraction and how the introduction

of novel cues and objects into the organism's *Umwelt* transforms the human and non-human animal relationship. The types of human-animal *Umwelt* relations can be modelled on axes which contain the variables "object" and "meaning" and the values "same" or "different".



The initial relations between the human and animal *Umwelten*, which underlie different forms of animal assistance. The meaning of the types and examples of them are provided in the text below.

Firstly, such human and non-human animal relations can be observed where the objects that humans and non-humans attend to and the meanings that they attribute to the objects overlap (type 1). In natural conditions such an overlapping of meaningful objects (e.g. items of food) might result in competition. By offering other benefits or replacing the initial object with another one with the same meaning, the competitive relation can be turned into a symbiotic or commensialistic relationship. Human intervention is here directed to the enhancement of the animal's capacity to perceive the object of interest and to the breaking of the process of acting upon it, for example by preventing the animal from capturing or consuming its prey. Hunting lions provided poor African peasants with meat by leaving residues of the killed prey. The peasants searched the hunting area in the morning and were able to gather the lion's leftovers. The lions were therefore tolerated and not hunted (Brehm 1915:66).

However, the overlapping of objects and meanings by humans and non-human animals does not necessarily have to evince a competitive character. This is so for animals that signal predators which carry the same meaning both for humans and their domestic animals. In such situations, a symbiotic relationship can be developed from a commensialistic one through the distribution of roles, such as when an animal gives an alarm about a predator and humans take action to drive it away.

Many wild species have been kept in captivity in order to serve as watchdogs. In mid-nineteenth-century India hyenas served as guardian animals in the villages (Jerdon 1867:118). From Central Europe there are data on cranes, *Grus grus*, which were tamed for the same purpose (Gunda 1969:482; Bartosiewicz 2005). Guinea fowl in African villages have long been appreciated because they raise the alarm when strangers and beasts approach. So did the great northern diver, *Gavia immer*, tied on the roofs in Greenlandic settlements (Svanberg & Ægisson 2005). In the villages of the natives of South America guans, curassows and screamers, *Chauna torquata*, served as "watchdogs" in the villages (Gilmore 1950:390–393; Gunda 1969:490). Peasants in East Africa viewed the lion as good for them because they chased away wild hogs that were harmful for their fields (Brehm 1915:6).

As a second possibility, humans and non-human animals may both be interest-

ed in the same objects, but for different reasons (e.g. if something is food for the animal, but vermin for human) (type 2). In such cases, often no training of the animal is needed, but simple attraction to human settlement might suffice and no fundamental transformation of the ecological relationship between humans and non-human animals is necessary. The human effort is directed to raising the saliency of certain human-bound objects or organisms in comparison with other potential objects carrying the same meaning in the animal's *Umwelt*. This can be done by creating an environment where not just the object is the attractor for the animal, but also its other needs are met – e.g. by providing nesting places, etc. Conscious efforts are not even needed to get the animals to human environments where the presence of abundant resources is a sufficient attractor in itself.

In pre-industrial, traditional societies many predators and various species of birds were regarded as beneficial for the villagers because they eat and keep away pests and other harmful animals from human settlements. Agricultural areas, barns and fields are full of insects that destroy crops and harvest produce. Some domestic birds such as chickens keep worms and larvae under control in the yard. A few insect-eating wild birds which usually nest around humans, for instance swallows, wagtails and storks, have been welcomed to such an extent that they have entered folk beliefs and folk tales throughout Europe (Tillhagen 1978; Svanberg 2013).

Taming wild birds was a popular pest control method among peasants in several regions of the world, including Sweden (Svanberg 2006). Free-ranging wild birds were often kept in the yard or flew about in homes. An often quoted example in ornithological literature is the *secretary bird, Sagittarius serpentarius*, which is reported to be kept on South African farms in order to control venomous snakes in the yard (Brehm 1911:299). Domestic ducks, *Anas platyrhynchos domesticus*, were according to Tao Huo (1487–1540) used in southern China already during the Ming dynasty for controlling amphibious crabs in rice paddies (Zhou 1990:132). In Mexico, tamed roadrunners (*Geococcyx californianus*) were popular both inside houses and outdoors, consuming mice, smaller snakes and other reptiles as well as insects (Gillmore 1950). On the Hungarian plain, the peasants kept common kestrel, *Falco tinnunculus*, inside buildings to check on mice (Gunda 1969:494). In nineteenth-century Italy, it was common to keep one or several specimens of the little owl (*Athene noctua*) in houses and gardens in order to capture rodents, slugs and insects (Niewenhuyse *et al*. 2008:15–17). At the end of the nineteenth century, Cuthbert Christy (1897) reported from Santo Domingo that the double-striped thick-knee (*Burhinus bistriatus dominicensis*) was sometimes kept in houses in order to capture the cockroaches that invaded the islanders' homes. In Chaco and Paraguay, the cuckoo (*Guira guira*) was "said to rid houses of all the creeping and running insects", according to an ornithological study from 1926 (Wetmore 1926:188). In several parts of Europe, quails (*Coturnix coturnix*) were kept in houses to eat insects. There are also observations from Japan in the 1860s on keeping i*nsectivorous* birds as insect

predators on farms (Brehm 1911:92; Notehelfter 1992:590f.).

Székely peasants in Romania used to tame stone marten, *Martes foina*, in order to keep rats and mice away from their houses (Gunda 1972). Marbled polecats (*Vormela vormela*) have been used in Asia in order to control rats. Still in the 1940s, Afghan shopkeepers in Kabul kept them in their stores in order to exterminate rodents (Akhtar 1945). Reverend Wood (1890) describes how a woman kept a hedgehog in order to get rid of cockroaches in her kitchen. Hedgehogs have actually been commonly kept in gardens in order to exterminate snails, snakes, small rodents and other pests.

Thirdly, animals may provide help for humans and vice versa, if they are interested in different, but contingent objects which carry the same meaning for them (type 3). There might be no direct contact between the human and the non-human animal before the possibility to assist one another in accessing the resources is discovered. In many parts of tropical Africa, people searching for honey have developed a kind of partnership with the greater honeyguide, *Indicator indicator*, which led them to the bees' nests. It has been best studied among the nomadic Boran people of northern Kenya. The Boran claim that they can deduce the direction and the distance to the nest as well as their own arrival at the nest from the bird's flight pattern, perching height, and calls. Analyses by Husseyn Isack and Heinz Ulrich Reyer (1989) of the behaviour of guiding birds confirmed these claims.

Finally, the objects that humans are looking for may not be present in the *Umwelt* of an animal (type 4), but it might still possess the perceptual and/or motoric means of retrieving them. Training is needed in order to bring the animal to notice the cues and objects that are otherwise of no significance to it. However, one can also simply expand the set of objects that serve the same functions (e.g. as items of food), in which case no special training is needed.

Wild Animals as Human Helpers in Fishing

As a huge number of ethnographical studies of traditional and peasant societies indicate, myriads of wild species have been historically used as human helpers, with a corresponding multitude of reasons for their engagement. These projects are usually rather casual and vary from household to household, but in some cases certain animal taxa have been used as helpers for generations (Gilmore 1950; Gunda 1969; Brusewitz 2001; Ståhlberg & Svanberg 2012). Moreover, the means humans have used to obtain help from animals also vary to a great extent and this can be demonstrated even within one function the animals have fulfilled for humans. The use of different strategies for obtaining animal assistance, in turn, brings about different kinds of changes in the animal's communicative behaviour, its habitat and/or feeding habits.

In the following, we outline the historical strategies for turning a wild animal into a human helper, using the fishing function as an example (for an overview of animals used in fishing, see Brandt 1972). The strategies are organized ac-

Cormorant fishing in Japan at night. Japanese block-print by Katsukawa Shunsen (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

cording to the extent of the human-caused transformations in the animal's behaviour and environmental relations. At the same time, those intrusions evince a hierarchy of changes in the animals' *Umwelten* – from an almost non-existent change in the case of the following of the animal in its natural environment to a significant transformation via training. Given the diffuse borders between human-influenced and wild habitats, taming and attracting, simple tolerance and conscious attraction, the categorization should indicate a variety of strategies and is not meant as a comprehensive typology with discrete classes. The same species might undergo all of the phases outlined below, being first observed in the natural environment, and then attracted to human habitats, tamed and finally trained. It is also important to note that the same species might be treated differently in different cultures for the same purpose. A good example are different species of the cormorant family: great cormorant, *Phalacrocorax carbo sinensis*, has been domesticated in China as a fish catcher, Japanese cormorant, *P. capillatus*, has been semi-domesticated in Japan, while great cormorant, *P. carbo,* has only been subjected to taming and training in Europe (Laufer 1909; Manzi & Coomes 2002:598). Whereas they have been used by European royal courts for entertainment since the seventeenth century, in East Asia they have been tied to obtaining a livelihood since at least the third century

(Beike 2012). In some parts of South Asia tribal groups are still using Indian darter, *Anhinga melanogaster,* in the same way as cormorants in East Asia (Stonor 1948).

Following the Animal in Its Natural Environment

A question could be raised as to whether animals whose behaviour is observed to tell the presence of predator or prey species that are of interest for humans (e.g. birds of prey used for hunting or sea birds as indicators of fish swarms) or whether confiscating food from the animals from their storing places (e.g. the fish caught and stored by otters or by ospreys and sea eagles) might be counted as helpers of humans (Brusewitz 2001). These observations at least serve as a precondition to later tame the animal to carry out the same functions. Humans do not influence the animal behaviour by this strategy of obtaining help, although they might influence the resource base of the animals. Often, it is the "service of the senses" that such indicator animals provide for humans. Similarly to domestic assistance animals like guide dogs and hearing dogs, they extend the human senses without necessarily capturing or retrieving any resources. Unlike the first, they do it due to their natural adaptations and not because of the associations built via training. The cause-and-effect relation might be even reversed by such observations, but the inference might still guide humans to the resource that was sought for. For example, in Estonia it has been noted that if one observes that otters have come to the river, then the fish will also gather at this place, as they will gather if the otter is whistling (Estonian Folklore Archive: ERA AI III 28, 125). This was also part of the Saami local knowledge about otters (Svanberg *et al*. 2016). Although the causal link of which animal triggers the appearance of the other is reversed here, the otter–fish association still holds true.

Bringing the Animal to the Human Environment

It is certainly easier to manipulate land ecosystems in a direction that attracts favoured species than to do the same with natural marine or freshwater habitats. The creation of artificial water bodies does serve the function, though. Human landscapes, from farmyards to fields to modern cities have always been attractive to some opportunistic species, which have been considered on the one hand as nuisance, as potential vectors of disease and sources of noise and filth, but on the other hand identified also with activities beneficial for humans (e.g. hedgehogs, house snakes, birds against vermin). Indeed, most of the earlier natural histories (e.g. Carl Linnaeus and Alfred Brehm) are keen to enlist such benefits as part of the species descriptions. If humans have recognized such a benefit, conscious efforts have often followed to attract the animals into the environment. The ancient custom in Scandinavia (in Finland especially in the south-west) of keeping pikes, *Esox lucius*, and frogs in wells and springs in order to purify the drinking water from bugs might be mentioned here as an example (Sarmela 2009:130–131).

Given the difficulty of altering the water environment, the animals used for obtaining resources from water have been tied to human habitats mostly by restricting their movement capacities and possi-

bilities. At Lake Doiran between Macedonia and Greece, working groups of fishing birds have been formed (including red-breasted merganser (*Mergus serrator*), great crested grebe (*Podiceps cristatus*), cormorants (*Phalacrocorax*), Arctic and red-throated loons (*Gavia arctica*, *G. stellata*)). The wings of some of those birds have been clipped and they are used to drive fish into special fences separated by chambers (Brandt 1972:17; Apostolski & Matvejev 1955). In any case, the border between the keeping of wild birds for fishing by enclosing them to human domains and the taming of those animals, discussed in the next section, is diffuse.

Taming and Training the Animals

Humans have also used several species to obtain desirable food by interrupting their normal procedure from catching prey to its consumption. In these cases, either part of the food is confiscated by humans and/or a replacement is offered for the items that are taken away. Often mechanical means have been used to obstruct the animal from swallowing its prey, which has saved the time and effort needed to train the animals – tethered cormorants, with rings around their necks. Some of the species tamed as human helpers can be further subjected to training, whereby a more extensive modification of the animal's behaviour can be achieved. Training also makes it possible to get the animal to attend to objects that might have not existed in its natural environment before.

Fishing with trained otters has been known for centuries in Asia and Europe (for various examples from Eurasia see Svanberg *et al*. 2016). In China, otters were used to drive fish into fishing nets, to root out fish from places of refuge, and cases have been reported where otters even rose to the surface to inform fishermen if no fish were found in the region (Gudger 1927). In his monumental work *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, published in 1555, Olaus Magnus gives some further details on tame and trained otters in Sweden (book 18:16). Here, however, he refers to another geographical location: "On the estates of some eminent citizens in Svealand otters are made so tame that, on a sign from the chef, they dive into a pool and catch a fish of the size he has indicated, returning for another and yet another until his instructions have been completely satisfied."

Otter fishing has been known in Europe since the late Middle Ages. According to late medieval zoologists like Thomas of Cantimpré (*Liber de natura rerum*, 1225–1241), Vincent of Beauvais (*Speculum Naturale* 1244), and Albertus Magnus (*De Animalibus*,1257), otters were trained for fishing in central and Western Europe (Bernström 1975, col. 390). The method, which is still in use in different parts of the world, is that the otters dive after the fish and drive them into the fishermen's nets. Izaak Walton is another European source for this custom. In his famous book *The Compleat Angler* (1653), reprinted many times and translated into many languages, he describes in detail how otter pups were caught at the age of three to four months and trained like dogs. The otter was muzzled to prevent it from eating the fish, and it was fastened by a line to its master. We have several examples from England. The Swedish zoologist Sven Nilsson (1847) wrote in 1847 that otter pups "could be tamed and trained to fish". The

Tame otter bringing fish to the head chef, according to Olaus Magnus (*Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus,* 1555).

habit of taming otters for this purpose is described from several locations in Sweden (Svanberg *et al*. 2016).

It seems also to have been a widespread practice among Saami fishermen to use otters for fishing until rather recently, according to a study from Lule Lappmark. In winter, when it was hard to catch fish using snares or nets under the ice, the otter was especially useful, as it could be released into open holes in the ice. To get hold of an otter for training the Saami hunter searched for them during the spring when they had pups in their holts. Male pups were preferred to females, which were left in the holt to grow up among the otter parents. Once you have taken care of an otter pup you are then obliged to keep it for life. In the beginning the pup was kept in a cage made of willow branches and was fed with small living fish. The pup was easily tamed and could be released from the cage when it lived in the hut or tent together with its owner. They avoided keeping the otter with the dogs. A tame otter can learn to fish by itself, but preferably they let the pup be trained by a tame adult otter. The otters were named and they used whistles and commands in order to control them. Not only did it catch fish for its owner but it could also show where fish were located in the streams and lakes and drive the shoals towards land. The Saami in northern Scandinavia considered the otter as a species that should not be hunted. However, Saami relying on fishing very often tamed otters in order to assist them in the fishery (Svanberg *et al*. 2016).

Another example can be given from contemporary Bangladesh. Villagers in certain areas are completely dependent on their otters and have no other livelihood. Each fishing group is composed of one fishing boat, three to five fishermen, one special rectangular net, and three otters (usually two trained adults and a juvenile under training). The otters drive the fish into the net from different directions, and when the fish come close to it, the fisher-

men pull the net into the boat (Feeroz *et al*. 2011).

Decline of Wild Species as Human Helpers

The need to keep up with the demands of global markets has been detrimental to the traditional use of wild animals in many places. As the amount and type of items attainable through the help of animals is tied to the biological limits of the organism, a rise in demand and the need for the fast acquisition of resources renders inefficient the use of animals in their previous functions. On certain occasions, however, the specialization and specific adaptations of the animal may still exceed the potential of technological devices. This is the case of cormorants, which are considered inefficient for catching fish these days, but which are still used to catch, for example, high-priced fish like the ayu, *Precoglossius altivelis* (Brandt 1972:16).

Different scenarios can be drawn for the future of the relationship between humans and helper animals once the helping function has been discarded. The contacts may be loosened and become only occasional; the animal might be re-identified with some of its earlier meanings (cormorants as competitors); it might be tamed and become a pet (hedgehogs) or used as part of a tourist attraction. Most commonly, they are still exploited as resources – wild ungulates are farmed worldwide to yield meat and antlers (Piasentier *et al.* 2005); bears, tigers and snakes for medicinal use (Abbott & van Kooten 2011); bobcats, foxes, and racoons for fur production (Roots 2007:127); crocodiles, pythons and monitors for their skins (Roots 2007: 58–73); microlivestocks, such as can rats, capybaras and other wild rodents, and also insects and snails, for food (Hardouin 1995). The pet industry continues to produce wild animals for keeping in homes (Chardonnet *et al*. 2002). Nevertheless, their future use in the helping function cannot be totally ruled out. Although the biological limits of wild helper animals have contributed to the demise of their former functions, the same restriction has at the same time served as a mechanism for abstaining from the overexploitation of natural resources.

Besides the economic and technological reasons, ethical issues might also restrict the persistence and continuation of the practices discussed here. The more intense the human intrusion in the animal behaviour, the more does the relationships appear to be based on service and dominion. Given the expansion of areas where human and non-human species meet daily, it might be worth exploring how the animals could be included by shaping the environment in a way that makes both humans and non-humans feel at home, instead of considering them as daily nuisance. Urban ecology and urban planners could here give a hand in developing terrains and elements that would allow and favour the development of symbiotic relations. In this connection, a writer and hacker Josh Klein developed his by now notorious crow "vending machine", where urban crows could exchange coins for peanuts (Klein 2007). Although Klein could not really demonstrate that the machine works with non-captive crows, the idea behind the machine was to propose that humans and synanthropic species could indeed benefit from the co-presence of each other. Despite the so far scant suc-

cess with the machine, the media coverage and responses to the experiment reveal the social unease that is felt about the status quo of human and synanthropic species relations. The creation of environments and conditions, which would trigger creative responses from humans as well as non-humans, might result in totally novel forms of assistance not available in the historical record.

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Sven B. Ek 1931–2016

Sven B. Ek, Gothenburg, professor emeritus of ethnology, passed away on 20 May 2016. Sven gained the title of *docent* in 1962 at Lund University and during the 1970s he was head of culture and museum director in Landskrona, where he was profoundly engaged in cultural politics. Between 1980 and 1996 he was the first professor of ethnology, especially European, at the University of Gothenburg.

Sven Birger Ek was born in Lund in 1931. In his memoirs, *En grötvägrares memorarer*, he tells about his parents, who were teachers "belonging to the people who built up the democratic organization society". This background left its mark on Sven throughout his life. In *Etnologiska visioner* he reflects on his choice of subject, ethnology, which was by no means given, but "an alternative to painting or writing". Sigfrid Svensson, professor at Lund University, whose orientation was towards Swedish peasant culture, tradition and change, encouraged Sven to develop the research field. Ek's dissertation, *Väderkvarnar och vattenmöllor*, was a study of windmills and water mills from a cultural and political perspective. The relationship between central control and folk practice was placed at the centre. The rich empirical material meant that the book reached a wide circle of readers for its descriptions of "a piece of splendid engineering".

During his years as *docent* in Lund, he focused his interest on urbanity; Sven B. Ek's research meant a new orientation in ethnology. He explored cultural processes and historical changes with the emphasis on the everyday life of working-class families. *Stadens födelse* and *Nöden i Lund – en etnologisk stadsstudie* would long be required in ethnology. Another book that attracted great attention was *Kulturrevolutionen börjar i kommunen*, where Sven considered innovative methods for active cultural life, arguing that "the cultural revolution starts in the municipality", as the title says.

As professor, Sven directed ethnology in Gothenburg towards working-class culture, with historical materialism as the basic outlook. People's own memories and experiences were in focus in different projects which resulted in essays, dissertations, popular works, and extensive interview material, which was archived in the Institute for Language and Folklore in Gothenburg (DAG). *Stadens Janusansikten – Göteborgare tycker om Göteborg* was the last anthology in which he also involved younger colleagues. Sven was highly appreciated as a supervisor; he rarely steered his doctoral students, but instilled self-confidence in them. With him as guide, there were several excursions to various European countries in order to establish contacts. These journeys were memorable in many ways. When chairing seminars Sven was keen on achieving a climate in which critical perspectives were rewarded, and he stressed the importance of spreading research findings outside the academy. In this spirit Sven founded the Ethnological Association of Western Sweden and initiated the Humanist Days when he was dean of the faculty.

Sven B. Ek was an independent researcher who brought out parts of our hidden history and worked to democratize the cultural heritage. Sven had a keen interest in art and was himself a painter. Besides academic texts he wrote articles on culture and debating pieces, crime fiction and causeries. He had a gentle, sly humour and an artist's soul capable of seeing the large in the small. All this we will remember and miss.

Kerstin Gunnemark and Annika Nordström, Gothenburg

Ragnar Pedersen, 1941–2016

Ragnar Ernst Pedersen, professor of cultural history (formerly ethnology) at the University of Oslo, passed away on 28 June 2016, at the age of 75. His professional career spanned both the university and the museum, that is, Hedmarksmuseet and Domkirkeodden in Hamar, with its departments for archaeology, cultural history and industrial heritage. Pedersen's scholarly interests covered the local culture of the Hedmark region of Norway as much as Nordic ethnology. In an admirable way he applied to local ethnography perspectives drawn from ethnological theory, just as he combined scholarly research on an advanced level with public outreach, through texts, lectures and museum work. All through his career he remained loyal to the legacy of his two main teachers. Professor Hilmar Stigum had taught him to value closeness to and respect for the artefacts of preindustrial society. From Professor Knut Kolsrud he inherited a strictly analytical approach to popular culture.

After his MA in European ethnology (1971), Ragnar was employed as a curator at the Institute of Ethnology (1972). Until 1980 he worked partly at the Institute and partly as director of the museum. In 1980 he returned to the museum and to the position of director and head curator, an office that he kept until his retirement in 2011. In 1988 he was appointed Professor II at the Institute, a post that he combined with his museum work until 2011.

His main fields of research were agricultural history, vernacular architecture and church buildings, foodways and nutrition, museology and the historiography of Norwegian ethnology. His first scholarly investigation, *Seterbruket på Hedmarken: Fra system til oppløsning* (1971), discusses the importance of the summer dairy pasture system in the farm households of Hedmarken. The study is a functionalist analysis, first situating the summer abodes in an economic system together with the farms, secondly trying to explain why the farmers stopped sending their animals to the summer dairies and the system dissolved. Pedersen pursued his studies of agricultural history in several shorter articles. Regretfully, his early and main opus in the field, entitled *Norsk jordbruk: Vilkår og løsning* ("Agriculture in Norway: Conditions and solutions"), has remained unpublished. This is a comprehensive survey of preindustrial agriculture with its regional varieties, the latter understood as a function of local ecological conditions.

As head of a museum with an open-air section, he took a keen interest in vernacular architecture. A central feature of his surveys and analyses is to regard dwellings as being dynamic, that is, the way they developed and changed. In later years Pedersen focused on research questions such as cultural heritage and the authenticity and identity value of material culture. From vernacular architecture he turned to manors and church buildings. He was especially engaged in studying the church interior, its architecture and symbolic values, not merely as a holy space but also as a cultural and historical practice. His major achievement in this field was to ensure that the ruins of the medieval cathedral on the museum site are now protected by a structure of glass and steel that is a sculpture in itself. His last works were an article on theory and methods applied in stave church research and a monograph on Åker Manor. Based on letters and diaries, the study describes an aristocratic way of life and farm management in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Both were published after his death.

Pedersen's articles on foodways have a regional rather than a national scope. His texts on museology reflect general issues such as museum ethics, museum architecture, and training and re-

search in the museum, as well as historical reviews of Norwegian museums. The historiographical texts treat a range of subjects, from biographies of individual scholars to analyses of ethnological journals and critical reviews of fields of research. His articles are too numerous to be mentioned in detail. They all contain thorough documentation and lucid analyses, whether he is throwing an aesthetic glance at folk art or discusses the relevance and reliability of different source types, whether he is applying functionalist theory, consumption theory, or action theory. Material culture and the materiality of culture were his main fields of study, fields that he recurrently singled out for theoretical discussions.

Ragnar Pedersen was a scholar who always talked with knowledge and enthusiasm about the discipline of ethnology and the profession of the ethnologist. He could turn any cultural phenomenon into an ethnological topic, an asset that inspired both his students and his colleagues. But life was more than scholarship, even to Ragnar. He kept a very hospitable home in Hamar, he enjoyed merry dinners, and he cultivated friendship. He will be deeply missed by colleagues and friends.

Bjarne Rogan, Oslo, Liv Emma Thorsen, Oslo

Beatriz Lindqvist, Professor at Södertörn University

Beatriz Lindqvist was appointed professor of Ethnology in 2016. She defended her doctoral thesis at Lund University in 1991. Since 1997, Lindqvist has been lecturer in ethnology at Södertörn University, and she received the title Docent in 2003. Lindqvist has long experience of both lecturing and research, and she has had several assignments within Södertörn University.

Ethnic identity and international migration are important themes in Beatriz Lindqvist's research. In her doctoral thesis, *Drömmar i vardag och exil: Chilenska flyktingars kulturella strategier* (1991), she discusses the cultural processes through which Chilean refugees define their belonging and aims in life, and their reflections of circumstances that forced them to emigrate. The thesis is a rich and multifaceted depiction of Chilean refugees' life situation in Sweden, and illustrates Lindqvist's ability to carefully handle substantial empirical materials.

Another recurring theme in Beatriz Lindqvist's production is how individuals in subordinate positions navigate between their own definitions of reality and dominating power relations. This is exemplified by her research on body, gender and sexuality, in which she illustrates how individual women's stories can be understood as negotiations with the structural demands of modern society where individuals are more or less "forced" to take personal responsibility for their own health, relations and happiness. Lindqvist's research on individuals versus structures reflects an important strength in her analytical endeavour; the ability to understand ethnographic material in relation to wider societal structures and power relations.

In her research, Beatriz Lindqvist relates central questions of ethnicity, gender, sexuality and migration to 'the new economy', for example when she investigates discourses on trafficking. According to official Swedish discourse, female sex workers are slaves, forced into prostitution against their will. However, according to (some of) the sex workers themselves, there are many reasons why they engage in sex work, for example high unemployment rates following ongoing neoliberalizing processes. Thus, Lindqvist reveals trafficking to be a much more complex phenomenon than the dominant discourse might lead one to believe, and she emphasizes the need for an intersectional approach that also takes processes of economy and globalization seriously. This sensitivity towards complexities is also present when Lindqvist discusses the consequences of repressive strategies against sex work. On the one hand, such strategies can be important for eliminating gender-oppressive structures, and on the other, they can have unwanted effects for marginalized women, such as increased illegal migration and trafficking.

In her research, Beatriz Lindqvist has returned to questions regarding identity construction and the Baltic States. Based mainly on interviews, she has investigated how Latvian and Russian academics in Latvia construct identity. For the Latvians, it was important to create distance from "the other", i.e. Russians, foreigners and occupants. By stereotypical ideas about the evil and ruling mentality of the Russians, the Latvian academics constructed a self-identity as a democratic, individual, nature loving and tolerant people, while the Russians were depicted as intolerant, despotic, collectivistic and urban.

Beatriz Lindqvist's contribution to Swedish ethnology is substantial. She is a critical (political) and independent researcher, not afraid to deal with controversial subjects. Her doctoral thesis is still a ground-breaking and well-known publication, and I am convinced that we can look forward to many more important contributions in the future.

Bo Nilsson, Umeå

Maria Zackariasson, Professor at Södertörn University

Maria Zackariasson combines cultural research with youth studies. Her scholarly production can be grouped in two themes, namely, how young people view the world around them and how they relate to religion. The first group includes the doctoral dissertation *Maktkamper och korridorfester* (2001). What processes arise when a group of individuals live in a collective setting where the boundary between private (a student's own room), and public (corridor and kitchen) is different from at home? How does community arise? Who is excluded and why? Through interviews with people in two student corridors at Uppsala University, Zackariasson answers these questions with the help of analytical tools such as youth, culture as process, public–private, power, and gender. The will to community is the force behind life in the halls of residence.

This dissertation proved to be fruitful for several articles about how young people think. In a book aimed partly at a popular audience, *Viljan att förändra världen* (2006), Zackariasson shows how wrong it is to believe that young people today are not interested in politics. Although party politics in particular might make them yawn, general political stances in movements like Attac or Social Forum make them want to change the world, as the title says. Often they have been abroad and seen the world from a new angle, or their families may have been a seedbed for critical thinking. The scholarly value of the book lies in Zackariasson's analysis of the young people's understanding of the concept of democracy, their outlook on the future, and how the media portray this. That book too is based on interviews and participant observation.

Young people's views of Christian religion, especially the free church, are the subject of studies such as "Coming from the Outside" (2012), which uses theories of socialization to answer questions about what happens when young non-believers become active in a Christian youth group. The shared interest in the Christian faith and the shared practice in language and behaviour in the group could function as means of socialization, but thanks to her creativity, Zackariasson finds contradictions in the interview material when it turns out that not all those engaged in Christian youth activity want to become believers; they do not want to change their identity. Zackariasson's pedagogical perspective is clearly seen in her insight that people who want to become believers may need to defend themselves and will thereby hone their arguments in dialogue with outsiders. Knowledge, argumentation skills, and commitment are thus tested, just as when one teaches students.

A concerted assessment of Zackariasson's written works shows that she is highly aware of prevalent theories. Her ability to do independent research is evident from the fact that she has rarely published anything with other authors. A characteristic of her work is that she proceeds from "general truths" which she rebuts or qualifies. The complicated world in which we live requires us to adopt several perspectives simultaneously. With her research on young people, Zackariasson shows how this can be accomplished. She can build up and develop research of high quality.

Maria Zackariasson has devoted much of her working time to teacher training at Södertörn University. This is one reason for her great pedagogical awareness. By being responsible for several courses at different levels and at different universities, she has demonstrated that she can develop, lead, and deliver teaching. She knows the latest trends in education and she has a will to develop her teaching in a way that activates students to participate in the learning process. Södertörn University may be congratulated on acquiring a competent professor.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo

New Dissertations

A Photographic Breakthrough

Trond Erik Bjorli, Et fotografisk gjennombrudd. Fotografisk og nasjonal modernisering i fotografen Anders Beer Wilses bildeproduksjon ca 1900–1910. University of Bergen, 2014. 373 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-82-308-2793-2.

■ In his doctoral thesis, Trond Erik Bjorli writes: Anders Beer Wilse was once Norway's most famous photographer, today he is in the process of being forgotten. Wilse's photography and his role in Norwegian history is the subject of Bjorli's thesis. He uses Wilse's photographic production and development as a platform for discussing the role of photography with a focus on modernization and identity as well as the history and ontology of photography and the relation to art. The period in focus, c. 1900–1910, is carefully chosen. Technical improvements at the end of the nineteenth century solved difficulties that had hitherto been restrictions on the production and distribution of photographic images. The dry plate, or gelatin process, opened up for amateur photography and a general industrialization. New opportunities for reproducing photographic images in print had seen the day of light, making a transition from photographic products to photographic motifs possible. In 1905 Norway achieved final separation from Sweden and a nation was born. The desire to form a national identity created a need to find and express the uniqueness of Norway. All these circumstances shaped what Bjorli calls a "photographic moment" when, according to Bjorli, materiality and ideology united in a moment specific for Norway and perhaps even in the history of photography. Bjorli places the breakthrough for Wilse's photographic illustrations in 1906 as the breakthrough of photography as an illustrative art in Norway as well as the breakthrough for modern photography. In short, Bjorli focuses on the elements of Wilse's renewal of photography and argues that Norwegian photography was modernized with Wilse. Thus, he argues that a fundamental modernization of Norwegian photography took place in the years after 1900 until the First World War, in opposition to the claim that this process came about during the interwar period.

Wilse's success should not primarily be sought in technical advances according to Bjorli, but rather in his development of a new photography. By combining the opportunities of the new instant photography and the genres of painting, Wilse develops a modern photography. That is, the modern photography his contemporaries were in need of. A rewarding aspect of Bjorli's thesis is that even though it does not focus on the power of photography, this subject is easily read between the lines throughout the text. Wilse documented Norway for half a century. His photographic production includes around 200,000 negatives and his images are among the most well-known photographs in Norway. Today, Wilse's work by no means lacks appreciation from contemporary institutions. In the protection plan for Norwegian photography from 1991, Wilse's archive is described as one of two Norwegian photographic archives most worthy of preservation, and in 2014 Wilse's photographic production was included in "Norges dokumentarv", the Norwegian part of UNESCO's Memory of the World register. The 150th anniversary of his birth in 2015 also drew attention to his work. Undoubtedly Wilse's motifs became icons of Norwegian visual culture, contributing to and forming a modern national identity. Upon reading Bjorli's thesis I was struck by the question why it took so long for a more thorough investigation like Bjorli's to arrive on such an influential power in Norwegian society. Could it be the same reason Bjorli claims and gives as a justification for his own text when trying to determine the significance of photography: that photography is more historically interwoven in human physical and mental acts than many other technical aids? Or does the ontology of the photographic image lie in its invisibility, its ability to remain seemingly transparent throughout whatever context its users places it in? Or does the vast flow of photography in contemporary societies in itself hide the influence and power? Whatever the reason, Bjorli's thesis is a welcome contribution to a phenomenon whose widespread use and extent is worthy of considerable research efforts. I do lack a wider international perspective and comparison in Bjorli's argument about the "photographic moment" and his statement that this moment of transition stands out more clearly than usual in the history of photography. Finally, Wilse's photographic production serves as the stem from which Bjorli grows a number of branches to form a broad

discussion on photography and cultural history and the result is enjoyable reading for anyone with a photographic and historical interest.
Gabi Louisedotter, Lund

Realities and Difficulties in Danish Agriculture

Rasmus Blædel, Vilkår, virkeligheder og vanskeligheder i dansk landbrug – en etnologisk undersøgelse. Afd. for Etnologi, Saxo-instituttet, Københavns Universitet 2016. pp. Diss.

■ Against the background of the crisis in Danish agriculture, Rasmus Blædel's Ph.D. dissertation, the title of which means "Conditions, realities, and difficulties in Danish agriculture – an ethnological study", aims to investigate new and/or alternative paths of development in agriculture which may be signs of ownership constructions and business models with a potential to tackle and transform the critical situation.

The dissertation exhaustively considers central aspects of the position of agriculture vis-à-vis the rest of society and discusses the relations and the hierarchy between the different stakeholder groups that try to assert their positions in debates and with respect to political priorities.

First and foremost, however, the focus is on conditions inside the agricultural sector, including the conflicts between a "productivistic" and a more "green" line in the development of Danish food production. The clear conclusion here is that the current political economy, like the general trend throughout history, supports productivism. A central feature of the dissertation is the insight into specific farms and a discussion of the significance of ownership for organization, production, and changes of generations; especially whether the rationale of the owner-farmer can survive in Danish agriculture, and what other forms of ownership might have the potential to support profitable and culturally sustainable business models. All the farms have been selected to represent alternative, but viable, ownership constructions and business models, each one an explicit solution to the current crisis. The dissertation nicely demonstrates the paradox that it is only as owner-farmer (simple commodity production) that one can get manpower to pursue agriculture, since there is not sufficient yield for ordinary wage labour, while simultaneously the capitalization of agriculture means that owner-farming is a form that cannot be reproduced. The agricultural establishment, understood as the organizations Agriculture & Food and Sustainable Agriculture, operates with a dominant narrative of the owner-farmer in order to go on receiving support from the surrounding society while simultaneously lobbying for a policy that promotes a structural development in the opposite direction.

In connection with the analysis of the farms, the author primarily draws on the Marxist theory of modes of production and ethnological life-mode analysis; the theoretical distinction between simple commodity production and capitalist production in particular is a key to the different rationales that can be applied in the management of the studied farms, and in a broader sense to understand the prevailing economic culture. This theoretical approach, which has also been used before in ethnological studies of Danish agriculture, seems well suited to exploring the tensions associated with organization and ownership in agriculture today.

The dissertation is based on copious, broadly based fieldwork material ranging from conversations and interviews with politicians, organization people, and other stakeholders at both national and EU level, to notes in the form of observations, conversations, and interviews from the author's stays on ten farms in different parts of Denmark. In addition he uses a selection of research reports, policy papers, legislation, consultation statements, etc. The author could have given a clearer account of the criteria for the selection of documents, reports, and themes brought up in the introduction to the dissertation and in section 1. The selection does not appear to be based on a survey of the literature or on a clear theoretical framework. Perhaps the core of the problem is partly the approach to other research on agriculture and foodstuffs. Blædel declares that there is a great deal of Danish research on agriculture and food production, but instead of presenting this research and positioning himself in relation to (some of) it, he chooses to dismiss it wholesale as being embedded in a complex of agricultural research closely connected to the industry.

After the introduction, where the field and the problem are defined and the author describes his

choice of method and theoretical foundation, the dissertation is structured in three main sections. Section 1, "The three tracks – preamble", presents the three frameworks that dictate the conditions: political, economic, and social/cultural. Section 2, "The seven farms – an empirical survey", describes each of the seven farms that were chosen as the primary empirical material and discusses, on the basis of interviews with owners and employers, the special orientation of these farms, the business model, and the mode of organization. The description of each farm is followed by a "Cultural excursus" in which different representations of agriculture in the form of novels, poems, songs, plays, and museum exhibitions about and experiences of farming culture are discussed as part of the examination of the position of agriculture in society. Section 3, "Summary and conclusion", discusses the findings and the potential to utilize them for the future development of agriculture.

The central concepts, the framework conditions, in these sections – and in the dissertation as a whole – would have deserved more detailed treatment. The framework conditions for the operation of the farms thus end up as an inappropriate dualism of "structure" and "actor", and this only gives a partial insight into the practice that takes place on the farms. As the dissertation shows, the concrete practice (in the efforts to deal with challenges, compare the concept of "neoculturation" that the dissertation itself mentions but does not develop) both on the farms and in the associated organizational contexts (among the "actors" if one likes), is significant for policymaking; similarly, of course, there are also forms of practice (such as some of those which the dissertation considers) that find it harder to make any mark on the "framework conditions". This reveals the lack of a conceptual apparatus to discuss the distribution of power, which otherwise occupies a crucial position in the dissertation. This could have been remedied, for instance, with the concept of the state developed as an extension of ethnological life-mode analysis on which the author draws. Without concepts that can also handle hierarchical structures, the "framework" ends up appearing either as given or as a result of decision makers' one-sided thinking.

In terms of method, the dissertation can be understood as a (comparative) study of alternative forms of ownership in Danish agriculture. The farms have been selected for study as "alternatives" to the dominant form of ownership – owner-farming – which according to Blædel is a dying form of organization. It is methodologically problematic that Blædel aims to say something satisfactory about the challenges to owner-farming in Danish mainstream agriculture solely by studying alternative forms of ownership among farmers who stand out by virtue of their personality. He should also have reflected – as he could have done by bringing in the concept of neoculturation – on the fact that all the selected farms have alternative networks for the sale of their produce and thus create special conditions. When the author does manage, despite methodological weaknesses, to arrive at an understanding of the challenges to Danish agriculture – especially to owner-farming – it is thanks to this rich empirical work in which the individual cases are described in their context.

The conclusions are sharp and make their point. Among other things, he says that the demand for subsidies can only be embedded in the narrative of the Danish owner-farmer, and that when it is openly communicated that the owner is a bank or a foundation – which is rather what is actually subsidized by the policy for the industry – the subsidies will lose their legitimacy and foundation. Blædel writes: "The fact that the two things – owner-farming and structural development – are mutually opposed does not make for credibility in stakeholder representation, communication, or organizational identity." This is a good example of knowledge that can only arise through a constructive link between the theoretical and the empirical. Yet there is a lack of reflection on the fact that form of ownership and economic logic (understood as either simple commodity production or capitalist production) do not necessarily correlate (such that, for example, owner-farming is connected solely to simple commodity production).

It is a huge problem that the dissertation tackles. Against that background Blædel has chosen, instead of conducting a finished investigation of a more restricted body of evidence, to present a broad range of debate material, discussions, analyses, etc. – and not least of all the paradoxes in these – and to discuss them in relation to the selection of concrete farms and their management; and then he has tentatively indicated alternative ways of using the poten-

tial for development in agriculture in relation to the prevailing paradigm. This approach makes it difficult for the author to position himself also in relation to the less politicizing research literature that actually exists. This defect, however, is offset by the insights provided by the dissertation, and by the analyses of fascinating, complex, and conflict-ridden political and economic features in the development of agriculture.

Niels Jul Nielsen, Copenhagen (based on the evaluation of the assessment committee, consisting also of *Egon Noe and Jostein Vik*)

Automation and Late Modern Reason

Daniel Bodén, Systemmänniskan. En studie om människan, automationen och det senmoderna förnuftet. Etnolore 36. Institutionen för kulturantropologi och etnologi, Uppsala universitet. Uppsala 2016. 211 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-506-2587-5.

■ There is broad consensus among researchers that Western society since the 1960s has undergone such a radical change that one can justifiably talk of a new era. It is argued that the older "industrial society" has been transformed into a qualitatively different society which is named in relation to different theoretical foundations, for example, as "the post-industrial society", "the service society", "the knowledge society". There are many explanations for the transformation, but all the explanatory models indicate that digital information technology, and with it the automation of various jobs, has played a major role in the leap into a new era. This is the starting point for Daniel Bodén's dissertation *Systemmänniskan* ("System Man"). But since he is an ethnologist and a student of culture, Bodén is not interested in automation itself, but in automation as a "peephole" through which to discover how a special way of thinking and reasoning, what he calls late modern reason, has emerged. The basic outlook of the dissertation is historical materialism, which is noticeable in the emphasis on historical process and historical context in the analysis, or more exactly, how material conditions, social organization, and consciousness mutually influence each other in a historical movement. The aim of the study is "to elucidate the historical process through which the late-modern reason has come into existence by studying automation". At the same time, the dissertation makes readers expect a study of what he calls late modern man.

To achieve the aim, the author studies how automation was implemented in two important organizations for society, Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken, a bank in the private sector, and Försäkringskassan, the Social Insurance Agency in the public sector. Two separate periods are examined, 1960–1978 and 2008–2013, where he thinks he can see the ideas about the new technology most distinctly. For the first period he focuses on how Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken developed cash dispensers (ATMs) and other digital bank services, and for the second period he considers Försäkringskassan's self-service applications.

The empirical material consists of the staff newsletters *Din Bank* and *Dagens socialförsäkringar*, periodicals produced for the employees, not by the employees; in other words, the content was written at the behest of the management of the two organizations. This makes it excellent material for studying ideological matrices in the management. This is supplemented with articles and reportage in national newspapers, along with policy documents. To access the living context of the people concerned, Bodén follows the good ethnological research practice of combining several different types of sources, such as interviews, witness seminars, recollections, observations, and blogs.

The dissertation is arranged in such a way that the study can easily be followed step by step. In the first empirical chapter the author describes how cash dispensers and digital self-service platforms were introduced in Sweden, and elucidates the values and the ways of thinking that automation was expected to instil in the public. Here automation is found to materialize values such as speed, simplicity, efficiency, and freedom of choice. Bodén identifies these as cultural values, part of an ideological power strategy, which sought to convince the public of the liberating potential of technology, and thereby make every individual submit to the logic of the market: in other words, to get people to regard the principles of the market economy as bringing liberation.

With this as a starting point, the next chapter is devoted to the idea of society as an all-embracing market and people as customers. This is about how the idea of the customer and the market came to

control the way the two organizations were built up and how new services were launched, based on the expected demands of the imagined customer. Bodén shows how the new organization was portrayed as customer-friendly. A seemingly egalitarian relationship would guarantee fairness, equal and reciprocal exchange relations. The development of automated services thus took place in accordance with the liberal idea of the market as an egalitarian social institution where customers and sellers exchange services, with the market's additional ability to give the customer freedom of choice. In the following chapter Bodén shows how this relationship between customer and bank gradually became increasingly abstract. Automation created a reified order which reduced human contact, as social relations were replaced by "transactions between abstract figures", as the author puts it. Through time, in other words, the encounter between organization and person, as a result of automation, became more and more placeless and anonymous.

The empirical chapters end with an examination of Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken and Försäkringskassan as workplaces, and the effects that automation and the symbolic order described above had for the employees. The author notes that the employees through time experienced greater freedom and creativity in their work, but, as he points out, on conditions established by the management, to work within given frameworks in order to find solutions and achieve set goals. By scrutinizing forms of control, management philosophy, and work processes in the two organizations, Bodén shows how a special way of thinking based on the logic of the market became a part of both organizations. This meant that the idea of society as an all-embracing market acquired a dominant position not only in the commercial sphere but also in the public sector.

Systemmänniskan is a well-written dissertation with a detailed and concrete method of bringing us close to the operative work in two organizations, and it lets us follow how a special way of thinking came into existence, what the author calls late modern reason. This way of thinking can be viewed as a foundation for a new power strategy in "late capitalism". Through a concrete study of automation in two organizations, Bodén shows how control during the studied period took on new and refined forms, as a consequence of the transformation of society and the way capitalism was forced into a new mould. A new form of capitalism required new forms of dominance. The strategy is to act without being seen. Power becomes invisible in the process, and thus both effective and all-embracing. But the question is how all-embracing the way of thinking also became. What causes particular difficulty here is Bodén's further aim that the dissertation is also supposed to be a study of late modern man. It is not clear from the dissertation what is meant by late modern man, or at least it is not unambiguous. This confuses the reader. Does it refer to an imagined ideal person or to man in late modern society, that is to say, all people, regardless of their social position? Certainly, automation connected the individual to the market in new ways, but did it also give rise to a "general collective consciousness", as the author says, so that all people adopted a specific way – and the same way – of thinking in order to "make the world comprehensible"? Can this be captured with the empirical material that the author has chosen to analyse? It is scarcely possible to say anything about people's thinking without capturing the everyday life where their thinking and doing take place. This kind of empirical evidence is totally lacking in *Systemmänniskan*.

Yet this does not detract from the merits of the dissertation. By studying concrete and material circumstance in order to understand the construction of "late modern reason", a close-up study that is rarely undertaken by scholars in other disciplines, *Systemmänniskan* adds new knowledge to the discussion of how the transformation of Sweden into a late modern capitalist society actually happened.

Håkan Berglund Lake, Umeå

Consumer Loyalty in Practice

Mads Dupont Breddam, Loyalitet i praksis. En etnologisk kulturanalyse af fænomenet den loyale forbruger. Det humanistiske fakultet, Københavns universitet 2015. 220 pp. English abstract. Diss.

■ This dissertation, with a title meaning "Loyalty in practice: An ethnological cultural analysis of the phenomenon of the loyal consumer", tackles an important contemporary topic: loyalty programmes in the service sector, with special focus on the Danish Co-op. In scholarly terms the dissertation is important. Through a focus on everyday practices the dissertation contributes new knowledge about

loyalty processes. The choice to study the Co-op is well grounded, giving the author an opportunity to discuss how loyalty processes are created in an organization that is somewhere in between club activities and business. The Co-op runs for-profit operations and is simultaneously expected to be a members' club with a specific historical heritage to relate to.

The dissertation rests on a theoretical foundation, Science and Technology Studies (STS), that is well chosen in relation to the scholarly problem. Particularly important is the "praxiographic" trend within STS. With the help of this theoretical approach, the author can study heterogeneous practices among Co-op employees and members/co-owners. It can be observed that the author uses the chosen theoretical approaches in a productive manner. He also demonstrates his independence in relation to the theoretical premises. Here I am thinking especially about Breddam's ability to adapt Annemarie Mol's discussions in *The Body Multiple* to his own research field.

The main empirical material in the dissertation consists of interviews with employees and members/co-owners. The choice of method is to some extent a challenge since Breddam's aim is to study practices, the making of loyalty. Here the author could well have developed the discussion of how the interview as a method has been used in order to study practices. It would also have been beneficial to have greater clarity about the author's attitude to the knowledge process. Breddam does admittedly discuss how knowledge is created in the researcher's encounter with the world, here the informants. The dissertation rejects the idea that the researcher "drains" information from the world or informants. Of course this is a highly relevant and moreover accepted stance. Yet Breddam, when analysing quotations, does in fact drain knowledge from his informants. For this reason, a more elaborate discussion of this "draining" would have been desirable, not just in the part about method but also in conjunction with the analysis.

The dissertation is positioned in relation to three research fields: business-related/economic research on loyalty; anthropological consumption studies; and STS-inspired consumption studies. In relation to first of these fields, the dissertation brings new knowledge by emphasizing that loyalty is created in and through relations rather than by being an individual property. In relation to the field of anthropological research on consumption, the author seeks to contribute knowledge about how loyalty is created through practices. In relation to STS-inspired consumption research, he builds on earlier studies and thereby broadens our knowledge. At the same time as the dissertation is positioned with reference to three distinct fields, two other fields remain relatively implicit and vague. According to the title of the dissertation, it is supposed to be an ethnological cultural analysis of the loyal consumer. It remains unclear, however, how the dissertation is related to ethnological consumption studies and especially to ethnological cultural analysis (which the title seems to suggest is something other than cultural analysis in other disciplines).

One of the dissertation's most important findings is that loyalty, like the loyal consumer, is not something stable and everlasting. Instead the author shows that loyalty is a fragile construction that requires constant doing. In this doing of loyalty, it is not only interpersonal relations that are important, but also a series of things such as membership cards, charge cards, and computer programs. Never-ending work is required, according to Breddam, to practise loyalty because different materialities, discourses, and social relations are involved. These are undoubtedly significant points, but they are largely theory-based, without a solid empirical foundation to support the conclusions. In the dissertation, moreover, a formulation that is important in relation to the theory and conclusions occurs no less than 46 times: Loyalty requires "stort og stadigt" (considerable and constant) work. Breddam states early on (pp. 14–15) that the dissertation intends to prove this, as a starting point for the study. But what is meant by considerable and constant? Although these terms or measures are so vital for the dissertation, they are never defined. In the dissertation there is thus an excessive tendency to let the theoretical premises steer the analysis of individual quotations. But this and other objections should not deter potential readers: Breddam has written an interesting dissertation about a highly relevant subject.

Fredrik Nilsson, Lund

A Swedish Mosque Presents Itself

David Gunnarsson, Gäst i Sverige. Sanningsregimer, villkorade själv(re)presentationer och nationell tillhörighet vid moskévisningar i Stockholm. Institu-

tionen för etnologi, religionshistoria och genusvetenskap, Stockholms universitet 2016. 214 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7649-419-6.

■ "Guest in Sweden" is a doctoral dissertation written by David Gunnarsson, an ethnologist at the universities of Stockholm and Södertörn. This dissertation is part of the research project "The Orient in Sweden".

Gunnarsson investigates here the *truth regimes* concerning Muslims in Sweden. Based on fourteen guided tours of the mosque in Sweden, he tries to see how knowledge about Islam and Muslims is produced in the interaction between the visitors and the guide. He wants to see which narratives, *storylines*, the guide presents in order to bring out the *right truth* about Muslims and to (re)present himself. How are these alternative storylines received and what renders authority and credibility in this context?

The author begins by presenting the subject of the study. The rest of the chapter provides an account of the theoretical foundation, of materials and methods, and an outline of the dissertation. First we are told about a visit the author paid to the Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahayan mosque in May 2003. The guided tours are divided into two parts, one in which visitors are shown round the mosque itself and one where visitors can ask questions. On this specific tour Gunnarsson was fascinated by what he perceived as the guide's need to convey the *right* and *true* Islam. In many ways this laid the foundation for what Gunnarsson is trying to examine in this book. According to Gunnarsson, the guided tours felt like an effort to describe Islam in the correct way and they were highly complex. The second feature identified by Gunnarsson is how the guide represents and positions himself. The guide does this in connection with a question from one of the engineers about whether there is an Islamic state. The guide answers by emphasizing what is distinctive about being Swedish: "you're blond, blue-eyed, and speak Swedish", thereby implicitly underlying his own alterity as a Muslim. The guide goes on to say that under a Muslim state people would be defined on the basis of their actions and not their appearance; in other words, how much one follows Sharia. It is also specified that the guide considers European values to be close to Islamic values and that *true* Islam and ideas about democracy work well together. The tours function as a tool that Swedish Muslims can use to present alternative storylines.

Gunnarsson's theoretical premises are mainly post-structuralist theories of knowledge production. Truth regimes, storylines, and authority are three theoretical positions he uses a great deal. Michel Foucault's concept of *truth/power regimes* is one of the most central concepts in the study. Briefly, this theory claims that what is truth in a special social context, in a specific time and place, has to do with the power structures in these demarcations and positions. In the context of the mosque, the guide has a specific position, for instance as Muslim and guide, and those visiting the mosque are guests. He uses *storylines* and *authority* together with this concept.

The method Gunnarsson uses is to proceed inductively from fieldwork to theory, that is to say, with an open methodology. He has used the methods of participant observation, interviews with guides and visitors, and collecting written material. Most of this collecting was done in 2003–2006. In contextual terms, Gunnarsson uses written sources to see what the debate about Muslims in Sweden was like at any particular time, following the media and then seeing how visitors on the tours took up topical problems.

"A mosque in Södermalm" – Gunnarsson thus tries to present the place that was the centre of the study. He begins by considering the mosque in Stockholm as a diasporic space. By that he means a place with transnational movements, signs, and symbols. He uses the term diasporic because he associates the space offered by the mosque with identity construction and the idea of a home, a centre. This space becomes an interface between established identities and positions. The mentality of "us" and "them" is negotiated here. Here he also discusses the position of Muslims, how this is connected to immigration, and how this position can easily become synonymous with non-Swedish. He regards the position of "Swedish" as hierarchically superior to an "immigrant" position, and argues that this is established on the linguistic level. During the guided tours, the space and storylines create "from the outside" the conditions that give the guide the authority to put forward new truth regimes. Gunnarsson goes on to tell of how the mosque, which is often referred to as "the mosque in Sweden", has become representative of Swedish Muslims. It is a forum where

politics and culture meet. Furthermore, we read that the mosque is supposed to be a place for openness, a place where everyone is welcome regardless of their different characteristics. Gunnarsson says that the openness is a tool for making the place less dangerous and threatening.

The mosque as context and space is further discussed, in both local and global contexts. The author also shows how majority vs. minority (Swedish vs. Muslim) creates a "politics of difference". Moreover, he examines how truth regimes about Muslims in various media are expressed in the question session on the guided tours of the mosque. The guides feel a need to correct certain beliefs the visitors have about Islam. Gunnarsson says that it is a dominant storyline that Muslims are presented as migrants, foreigners, and potential anti-citizens. As migrants, Muslims are also categorized as an economic burden. These and similar contexts force them to argue that their presence (in Sweden) is legitimate. The alterity of the Muslims is thus negotiated during the tours. Gunnarsson underlines his points by constantly referring to specific guided tours. He also considers storylines of what it is like to be a Muslim woman, and stresses that the combination of Muslim women and feminism is viewed as a contradiction in terms. He then continues with other notions and how these are countered: extremism, stereotypes, and how this creates an external pressure to present Islam as open and tolerant. But Gunnarsson undertakes a closer analysis of the effects of what he sees as intimization, the way the visitors (mostly when they come as pupils from some educational institution) have a personal encounter with Islam. Here he looks at what he calls the comfort zone. The term refers to the sense of security that comes with receiving confirmation for one's own truth. By this he means that he opens the material to a power analysis of the interaction that entails a struggle for interpretative representations. Inside the comfort zone one can use one's knowledge as an obvious starting point in the conversations. The struggle that takes place on the tours – who is to have the power of definition? – can give different degrees of (un)comfortableness. Gunnarsson also considers how the guides are sometimes put up against the wall and forced to share of both the private and the public sphere. The visitors can be interpreted as wanting to gain access to the guide's "home" and become familiar with the stranger's thinking. Personal matters can also be used as a resource. Especially in chapter 5 the author examines the values and ideals on which the tours are grounded, and the conditions this creates for the production of knowledge. Gunnarsson writes that it seems as if tolerance and respect for religious and cultural differences is an ideal and a framework for the tours. There are certain storylines about how a tour should be conducted and what the meeting with a Muslim should be like. Where does the boundary go for what is acceptable in this setting? Gunnarsson's conclusion here is that the guide's respect for the visitors is taken for granted more than the visitors' respect for the guide, and this can be connected to the hierarchical relationship between Muslim and Swedish. He also examines gender, sexuality, and respect, universal respect, religiosity, and alterity. Finally, Gunnarsson tries to sum up his findings. He says that in this dissertation he has analysed the production of knowledge about Swedish Muslims and the conditions in which this takes place. He looks at authority and the guide's scope for action during the tours. He underlines that this is a study of who can speak with authority. He goes on to sum up the contexts he has already examined, the mosque as a space and the media's truth regimes. He emphasizes that the mosque in Södermalm is representative of Swedish Muslims. Gunnarsson looks at the mosque in 2016, ten years after his study, and notes that more mosques have arisen and the number of mosque tours has decreased slightly. He sees that the media have more storylines and alternative storylines than when he performed his study. There is an English summary at the end of the book.

As I view this dissertation, Gunnarsson takes up many interesting themes, but at times it can be uncertain whether he is most interested in how knowledge in this particular setting is produced with the aid of linguistic matrices, or if he is more interested in actual Swedish Muslims. He tries all the time to see how the guide and the visitors position themselves in relation to each other, what roles they are assigned or assume, and how this affects the authority and credibility of what is said. In my eyes, however, all the actors are people with fairly strong resources and (as he indeed specifies himself) from the middle class and thus not wholly representative. He tries to even this out by using various written sources in order to reflect the debate climate in Sweden at the different times. Da-

vid Gunnarsson nevertheless does a thorough job and links the empirical material to the theory very well in his dissertation.
Haci Akman, Bergen

Cruising Sailors' Online Travel Writing

Hanna Jansson, Drömmen om äventyret. Långfärdsseglares reseberättelser på internet. Stockholms Universitet 2017. 266 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7649-614-5.

■ Hanna Jansson's dissertation, "Dreams of Adventure", investigates the written public narratives from Swedish cruising sailors as well as the narrating process. Her major aim is to analyse how crews describe ongoing experiences in online travelogues. Further, Jansson aims to show how the journeys, the stories and the storytelling are mutually related to one another. As regards theory, she aims to combine Amy Schuman's research on *immediate storytelling* and Reinhart Koselleck's perspectives on time as *situated and subjective.*

The dissertation is based on fieldwork online and offline. The online fieldwork involves thorough reading of the blogs and websites of four sailing crews. The offline work involves interviews with these crews and an additional fifteen crews in harbours in Sweden, the Azores and Gran Canaria. Jansson's fieldwork seems thorough and targeted, and her abundant use of quotations from the material gives the reader a good sense of the field. Jansson has chosen to include only narratives from crews crossing the Atlantic Sea and then returning home, following more or less the same route. She chose to disregard crews that actually sail around the world. Jansson found about 30 Internet sites fitting her criteria and she chose four of these. These were chosen because they were written by active narrators that published multiple and/or long posts. She also chose to study blogs made by people that were not retired from work, hence their journey was a break, not a permanent lifestyle. Obviously limitations are necessary. But by choosing the narrators that narrate the most, she has chosen a quite elitist approach to the narrators.

But while her four main crews are from 23 years of age to somewhere in their forties, the sailors interviewed at location in the harbours do not fit any of these criteria; they seem to be a diverse bunch travelling short or long distance, old or young, retired or working. It seems as if almost all of these have a homepage or a blog about sailing, but the quality and professionalism of those are not discussed. Hence, it seems a bit of a contradiction in terms to choose a particular group going to a particular place blogging in a particular way – when the actual narrative context is so diverse and multifaceted. I would have liked to see some sort of overview of how many Swedes indulge in long-term sailing, and it would also be nice to know how many of those blog about it.

Further, sailing around the world is not just a Swedish dream. I miss the international perspective on world sailors as part of an international community or culture of sailors.

Jansson claims to have used both qualitative and quantitative tools in analysing her material. Qualitatively, she has aimed to search for both patterns and discrepancies. I would have liked to see these discussed more systematically. Quantitatively, she has made some sort of statistics on how often the crews update their blog, how long the time-gaps are between updates, and how much time is covered in each update. Little of this is present or discussed in the dissertation.

Her thorough digging into blogs from a particular group in a particular timespan, shows us what results a very eager, knowledgeable and persistent narrator can accomplish with all the available tools at the time. These tools are very different from those a decade before, or those available today, as Jansson also states herself. Jansson's travelogues were posted between 2005 and 2011.

Jansson has chosen a structure for her dissertation primarily following the chronology of the travelogues. Chapter 1 is the introduction.

Chapter 2 concerns expectations and routes. Jansson writes that the route and schedule for cruises to the Caribbean and back is determined by several geographical and meteorological factors. It turns out that most sailors follow much the same route and time their departures likewise. Jansson calls this common schedule the narrative geography of the cruising sailors. The routes structure the narratives, and the handbooks, travelogues and oral narratives from other sailors combine to establish a horizon of expectation that Jansson claims is very visible in her material. She therefore argues for an intertextual understanding of writing and travel-

ling. This is a bit like kicking in an open door: travel writing/narrating always relates to the journey and to other tales. But it is interesting to see how expectations of drama are handled by the bloggers, who overemphasize dramatic expectations to make their blogs exciting, and also express disappointment when their passing of dangerous seas is calm and uneventful.

Chapter 2 ends with a rather interesting example of the dynamics between bloggers and readers. The blogs are read by family and friends but also by strangers that are interested in the topic of long-term sail cruising. Readers can write comments after the letters posted on the blogs. A reader is very annoyed when one of the crew sailing the *Anarchy,* the woman Taru, posts a letter with pictures from her short visit back home to Finland by plane. Taru hosts a very popular blog on world cruising by sailboat. The reader claims Taru's trip home is an interruption of the sail cruise, and narrating about it ruins the narrative about the cruise. The reader writes: "We are not interested in following you. This is not your blog" (Jansson 2017:77). This is an interesting example of how the audience sanctions narratives, in this case written ones. Taru dismisses the comment, calling the commenter crazy in a post called "World wide web full of Wackos". Jansson, on the other hand, understands the commenter's reaction, having sensed similar disappointments herself when reading other blogs where the sailors on the one hand write themselves into the wilderness in one post, just to pop home by plane in the next to celebrate Christmas in Sweden. This would make excellent grounds to discuss the bloggers' narrative and strategic competence, but Jansson does not take this discussion further. It is also surprising that this example of Taru's blog – and other examples in this chapter as well – is not included in Jansson's list of material. Hence she often finds it useful to recite and discuss blogs that do not fit her criteria of fieldwork material.

What can one narrate when nothing happens? And is nothing really nothing? Jansson explores this further in chapter 3. The crossing of the Atlantic is somewhat paradoxical; usually the wind is stable and good and the sailing easy, but it is strenuous for the crews to be isolated at sea for several weeks. Jansson uses theory of *rite de passage* to understand the importance of this part of the journey.

Chapter 4 concerns the individual narrating voices, and Jansson shows very well that even though her main crews have a common starting point, genre and context, their stories develop quite differently along with their different choices after having crossed the Atlantic Ocean. Jansson uses Charles Briggs and Richard Bauman's theory of the *intertextual genre* definition when she discusses this. She also shows us how the bloggers explicitly refer to each other using links to other blogs. Here Jansson uses Katharine Young's term *joint storytelling*.

Chapter 5 concerns the manufacturing of time. This is an interesting chapter, since it reveals several quite creative techniques used by the narrators in order to create a coherent chronological narrative, while encountering various technical difficulties. For instance they backdate posts posted much later than the events happened, creating an illusion of continuity for the reader. But the observant reader, or the reader who checks the blogs often, will notice that there sometimes are long gaps where nothing is posted. Jansson's use of Katharine Young's terms *taleworld* and *storyrealm* are useful terms in this chapter.

Chapter 6 concerns the readers and compromises made by the narrators. Most of the sailors have high ambitions to entertain, inform or educate their readers. Their ambitions are challenged by the fact that blogging becomes a quite tiring and troublesome job. The crews still do their best to give their audience what they want in their updates, and by doing this they demonstrate their *performative competence*, using Charles Briggs's term. This involves self-censoring their blogs not to upset parents with tales of real danger.

Chapter 7 concerns the stories' *ends and closings*. Some narratives end abruptly due to illness or technical problems. Some end before the boat reaches home due to the crew having lost motivation for blogging when all the excitement is behind them. In the cases where the narrative does not get a closing, the readers complain, but sometimes the ending never comes.

Chapter 8 is the conclusion. Jansson has achieved her aims, she has analysed how crews describe ongoing experiences in online travelogues, and she has shown us how the journeys, the stories and the storytelling are mutually related to one another. Jansson argues for an understanding of nar-

rative as a contextual and ongoing process. She further shows us how technological development has changed online narrating, and that people today use combinations of Facebook, Instagram, Youtube and so on.

The theories applied throughout the dissertation are appropriate, but there are few theoretical discussions as such. I would have liked her findings to be more systematically discussed, and I miss her taking more of a bird's-eye view of the cruisers: Why do they choose this form of travelling? What does the journey really mean to the sailors – before, during and after the journey? Why the urge to publicly display their stories?

In the last few decades the Internet has been bombarded by blogs about everyday chores and rather uneventful activities. People blog about their cats, about painting a kitchen chair, or baking a cake. Everything gets shared by everyone – or so it seems. How do the sailing blogs relate to the bigger picture of blogging and narrating online? The people who blog about their journey, do they blog about everything else as well?

I also miss further discussion of what cultural norms govern the group of sailors. Are people crossing the seas seen as some sort of elite travellers, by themselves or others? It certainly seems so to me, and it seems like a challenge for them to fulfil the right criteria; too much help, too much money or too easy a route and you are not a *real* world cruiser. Why the urge to be a specific stereotype? And why this urge for hard work and leaving the modern world behind? Has modern life become so easy that people need to make up their own struggles?

We as folklorists and ethnologists know that topic, context, story and the process of narrating always interconnect. Jansson has some interesting contributions to how contextual factors shape the stories, but her dissertation would have benefited if her questions and aims had been somewhat more ambitious and creative. Still, Jansson's thesis is thorough and informative, and it gives the reader an interesting glance into a temporary lifestyle many of us, or our friends and relatives, have dreamt of.

Eva-Marie Tveit, Bergen

Doing Uniform in Denmark

Helle Leilund, Uniformer på arbejde. Nutidige praksisser omkring ensartet arbejstøj. Ph.d.-afhandling, Det humanistiske fakultet, Københavns universitet 2015. 260 pp. Diss.

■ There is too little research about uniforms, when you consider that increasing numbers of people in more and more occupations have to wear some kind of identical clothes at their work today. Helle Leilund seeks to rectify this shortage with her dissertation about the significance of uniforms for employees and managers of the railway, the health service, and the post office. Doing extensive ethnographic fieldwork, the author takes the reader into staff rooms, changing rooms, and clothes stores, into hospital corridors, on board trains, and on postal delivery rounds in the countryside. The impressions and experiences resulting from her trying out the different jobs – wearing a uniform – are analysed with the aid of recent theories of materiality, "what people do with materiality and what materiality does to people" (p. 14). A fundamental assumption is that "the material and the social/cultural cannot be explained, understood, or given meaning without each other" (p. 32).

In the opinion of the author, the museums (at least in Denmark), in their work of documentation and exhibition, have not regarded uniforms as anything more than a piece of costume history. An important motive for the study is thus to provide the museums with new methods for charting and capturing the societal and cultural context, and the practices in which the uniform is created. Leilund herself has long experience of working with collections of textiles and clothes at different Danish museums.

The overall problem tackled by the dissertation is "to investigate how uniform working clothes are a part of different practices at different workplaces, that is, in different spatial and material situations" (p. 15). The three organizations under study are the Danish railway company DSB, Post Danmark, and Gentofte Hospital. Here the author wants, first of all, to study "the superior level", that is, the aims of the operations, the profiling, and so on; secondly, how the uniform is part of the method for managing the employees; and thirdly, how the working clothes are included in different ways in the employees' dress practices.

The text is arranged in nine chapters, the first three of which constitute an introduction presenting

the design of the study, the link to the work of the museums with costumes, a history of research with the focus on dress and clothing, the theoretical framework, and a description of the method and material. Then the fieldwork is presented in three long chapters, with most space being devoted to DSB. This is followed by a chapter examining uniforms and the management of the various workplaces, and a chapter describing the employees' practices of creating a "self" in uniform. The last chapter sums up the study. There is a certain risk that the reader will perceive the chapters describing the different workplaces as solely empirical and the last three chapters as analytical, but analytical and theoretical reasoning is blended with empirical descriptions in every chapter. On the other hand, it is somewhat unclear how the chapter divisions correspond to the divisions of the problem into three different levels of analysis.

The dissertation applies theories of practice-based communities, actor networks, and materializations, theories frequently used and developed in Danish ethnology. In a detailed theoretical discussion the author introduces ANT as the overall theoretical field, with names like Annemarie Mol, John Law, Madeleine Akrich, and Bruno Latour as the main inspiration. Materiality, for example a uniform, should be perceived as active and processual and something that includes both linguistic and material factors. The concepts of relational materiality and material semiotics are introduced. The uniform can be understood as an actant and together with other actants operating in dense networks. The concept of practice – in Mols's praxiographic variant – has a central role throughout the text. When the focus is shifted from the workplace to the practices of the individual employee and "doing the self", the author leans on fashion researchers such as Joanne Entwistle and Sophie Woodward to discuss the social and cultural meaning attached to – but also created by – individual clothes choices.

The design and methods of the study are presented as a "classical ethnological fieldwork method based on thick descriptions" (p. 59), which are constructed through qualitative interviews and different forms of participant observation. On the other hand, the author wants to get away from what she regards as the traditional approach to fieldwork: "Instead of doing classical ethnographic fieldwork in *one* place over a long time, and analysing one activity as a demarcated social and cultural whole" (p. 54) she wants to follow the uniforms in the different practices where they are performed in a *multi-sited ethnography*. She links this method to Mols's praxiographic method. The question is whether the difference between "classical" ethnological fieldwork methods and a praxiographic method are clarified in the dissertation, and whether this potential difference really has an impact on Leilund's collection and processing of the field material.

The empirical material, which was collected in 2005–2007, is presented in a clear and exemplary fashion in an appendix with a list of all the interviews and observations, along with archival material.

In chapters 4, 5, and 6 the reader is introduced to the three workplaces that make up the empirical framework of the dissertation. The author gives examples and analyses of the different practices in which uniforms at work are *done*. Vivid descriptions from the participant observation, together with quotations from interviews, give insightful interpretations of the complexity, and the potential arena for conflicts, that the use of uniforms can entail. Through this analysis of practice the author seeks to show that the technology of uniform dress is not something that arises of itself. It arises by being constantly negotiated, adjusted, stabilized, and destabilized.

Under the heading "DSB makes modernity and diversity in uniform" Leilund explores how the basic outlook of the railway company, that diversity should be viewed as a strength, is expressed in the uniforming of the staff. How does the company materialize the explicit goals of respect for difference when it simultaneously demands that everyone should wear a uniform? The answer is given partly by seeing the superordinate position of the uniform in DSB and how the uniform is used in practice to achieve specific goals such as communicating a special self-perception, and by describing the intentions, ideas, and expectations the company has of its employees in relation to the use of uniforms (questions that also apply to the other places observed during the fieldwork).

DSB, by comparison with the two other workplaces, has an ambitious and broad uniform programme. The reader follows how it came into existence through interviews with designers, middle management with responsibility for its implementation, and different users who do uniform on an

everyday basis. The author captures and illustrates the conflicts and contradictory expectations of the uniform as revealed in the use of the garments, in material, cut, and details. In this way she exposes the *script* that is inscribed in the technological object that the uniform can be analysed as.

In chapter 5 of the dissertation, where the setting is Gentofte Hospital, the author describes a uniform programme that differs in several respects from the one at DSB. There is a greater demand for uniformity; all the uniforms are made of the same material, all are white, and above all, there are far fewer parts to the uniforms and fewer variations to choose among. In the analysis this is linked in an interesting way to the demand for economies of scale when it comes to laundry, and to the discourse about hygiene which has historically legitimated the entire hospital system. During the time when the fieldwork was being done there was a controversy about uniforms which initially involved a rather small group of staff, namely, female employees with an Islamic faith. They wanted a new kind of uniform, one that could cover more parts of the body. The controversy developed to include more occupational categories and further problems connected to the uniform system. By connecting occupational pride, gender, body, religion, and hygiene in relation to working clothes, the author presents one of the dissertation's best interpretations of how uniform is "done".

The fieldwork on which chapter 6 is based differs from the fieldwork done at DSB and Gentofte Hospital. At Post Danmark there was no time or space for long interviews or group conversations, so instead the uniform practices had to be experienced in the work itself. The author had to carry heavy loads, run up and down stairs, cycle uphill, read maps on winding car trips, all of which gave her the impression that work as a postman was more physical by nature than articulated and verbalized. It also put the focus on *time* as a central analytical category, as regards the efforts to improve efficiency as well as the competition from new mail companies, but also the organization of the work and the functionality of the uniform and its historical symbolic value. The romantic picture of the postman in his red jacket, with time to stop and chat to everyone on his way, actually had very little to do with today's uniform practices and tasks. It is obvious that time is a central and well-found analytical category as regards Post Danmark. But perhaps its significance is exaggerated by comparison with the working conditions at DSB and Gentofte Hospital, where the cost of time, rationalizations, and competition from private actors surely have just as much an impact on today's operations. Possibly the author's perception of the physical and central role of time in Post Danmark is due to the fact that she herself took part in the work and the *doing* of the uniform to a greater extent than at the other workplaces?

Chapter 7, "Doing management with uniform", deals precisely with what the heading promises. By focusing on the concept of modern management, Leilund wants to study how, but above all why, uniforming is a part of the relationship between management and employees today. In practice it is often the middle management who are responsible for ensuring that the uniform is worn properly, and that those who wear it signal what the company or institution wants to be associated with. Janne, who is in charge of a staff of some seventy railway employees, personifies the management philosophy that Leilund would link to the use of uniform. For the reader it is positive to come close to a person who is studied in depth, but at the same time it is a pity that the discussion of management techniques does not include the hospital and the postal service to a greater extent.

In chapter 8 we meet three DSB employees who "make themselves" in different ways through the uniform. None of them have anything against wearing a uniform, and through interviews and participant observation we follow how they select the different components of the uniform, choose matching ballpoint pens to stick in the breast pocket, and above all feel that they become someone when they step into the uniform. Here Leilund uses findings and theories from fashion studies, about how clothes are selected, what is signalled through the choice of clothes, and how boundaries between the private person and the professional self are affected by dress practices. Here the author provides many insightful quotations and nicely described situations, but once again it would have been good to be given more examples from the hospital and the post office. Perhaps the generally positive relationship to the uniform at DSB would have been modified if the focus had been shifted to workplaces with stricter uniforms allowing less variation and with fewer parts to choose among in the uniform programme.

I appreciate the theoretical approach and am inspired by the theoretical literature on which the analysis is based. But I do wish that the potential in these theories had been used in a more thoroughgoing fashion. The analysis could also have been linked more closely to changes in society and shifts of power in a changing working life. The author's strong desire to offer new methods to vitalize and renew the museums' work of documenting and exhibiting clothes is, unfortunately, not followed up properly in the dissertation. We may hope that Leilund will have an opportunity in future to achieve this desire through her position as a strong link between the museum world and research.

The significance of uniforms for management, organization, and power over work, as well as for identity and occupational pride, will not decline in tomorrow's working life. In 2016, ten years after Leilund did her fieldwork, a judgement was pronounced in a Swedish court, according to which the Karolinska Institute in Stockholm had to pay 5000 kronor to a female dental student as compensation for discrimination. Like the employees at Gentofte Hospital, with reference to her religion, she had wanted to modify her uniform by covering her arms with the help of disposable plastic sleeves. The employer did not want any departure from hygiene routines and uniform rules with reference to patient safety and protection against infection. We recognize the arguments.

One aim of the dissertation is to get us to see and understand today's increasingly common use of uniforms, in a new and more problematizing way, that is, to de-stabilize the phenomenon of identical working clothes. And this is also the positive end result of the rich empirical accounts and the imaginative analyses of the employees' everyday life in uniform. Now that I have put down the dissertation after reading it, I realize that I understand the phenomenon of uniforms in a new way and I remember the nicely retold situations from the fieldwork, which the author skilfully undresses to expose their cultural meaning.

Karin Salomonsson, Lund

Funding European Research

Elisabeth Niklasson, Funding Matters. Archaeology and the Political Economy of the Past in the EU. Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies. Stockholm University 2016. 332 pp. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7649-320-5.

■ The title of this thesis by Elisabeth Niklasson, now a post-doctoral fellow at the Stanford Archaeology Center in California, says it all: funding matters. The study shows that research and knowledge production in the case of archaeology is shaped by funding sources and the political economy they imply. The catchphrase "follow the money" may have its popular origin in the Hollywood movie *All the President's Men* (1976), but it is nevertheless a valid approach to revealing and documenting complex phenomena, and has been adapted by researchers in the humanities and beyond. What is interesting about this thesis, however, is how Niklasson's search for meaning and understanding digs deep into the European Union bureaucracy from the early 1970s to the 2010s in order to understand how the funding schemes are politically, administratively and academically produced. In particular, it examines how the *figure of archaeology*, as Niklasson calls it, is vulnerable to this, since in the context of EU funding, its knowledge production and the physical objects it discovers can be used as evidence both of the past and of European culture's status and identity as something unique. Anyone who has applied for EU funding or participated in EU-funded research projects will find the thesis informative and insightful, and will likely be encouraged to reflect upon how the EU's funding of cultural actions *should* matter; how to interpret the political agendas of the EU as expressed through funding actions; and how to make the subject matter of one's research project challenge knowledge production and perceptions within the EU administration concerning issues of cultural identity and heritage.

The analytical point of departure of this thesis is how Europe has been constructed as an analytical category by the discipline of archaeology itself, and from there how archaeological knowledge has been deployed in European politics – as well as in cultural programmes beginning in the 1970s and continuing through the most recent funding schemes *Rafael (1997−1999), Culture 2000 (2000−2006),* and *Culture 2007−2013* – in order to promote a sense of common cultural origin and cohesion among member states. This approach is chosen in order to examine and understand the practices governing EU funding.

Niklasson's study is therefore composed of an analysis of the different ways of conceptualizing Europe within the discipline of archaeology; a mapping of EU cultural programmes that support archaeological research; an ethnographic study of the administration of the *Culture 2007–2013* programme that follows the journey of project proposals in archaeology from the pre-application phase, through the application phase, and to the post-application phase; and a study of the narratives of successful applications for EU funding with an archaeological component. The study generated vast and diverse information from interviews with 41 different experts handling EU funding applications; from participant observations while working for five months as an intern in the European Commission's agency in charge of administrating projects funded by *Culture 2007–2013*; from archival research into reports and policy documents concerning the EU's cultural programmes; and from the study of 161 successful archaeological research applications for EU funding.

Guiding this complex study is a three-part research question, informed initially by two matters of concern. First, Niklasson observed how archaeologists and heritage professionals tend to present phrases about European identity as givens in proposals, which invited critical reflection through her first two research questions: (1) How, and for what reason, has the EU interacted with the domain of archaeology as a component of cultural heritage? (2) How, and with what outcomes, have archaeological projects co-funded by the EU funding programmes in culture interacted with constructions of Europeanness? The second matter of concern for Niklasson was what actually happens when a decision is made whether or not to support a particular research proposal. This led to her third research question: (3) What processes of translation characterize the interaction, and where does the power to define Europeanness lie?

The research questions reveal Niklasson's theoretical approach. The core interest of the thesis is not to discover the origins of EU funding and archaeological knowledge, but rather the processes and components that define EU funding in specific ways and exert certain effects on the reality of archaeological knowledge. The theoretical approach informing the study is in the vein of the social theorist Dave Edler-Vass, using what Niklasson describes as a combination of social constructivism and critical realism: *realist social constructionism* (Edler-Vass, Dave 2012: *The Reality of Social Constructivism*). In practice, this theoretical approach prompts Niklasson to regard Europe and European heritage as what she calls *real constructions*, which are produced and reproduced by discourses (text, practices and power structures) and have a substantial impact on the world. The method of the study is qualitative, composed of a combination of ethnographic fieldwork, semi-structured interviews, and readings of reports and documents in order to be able to generate an intertextual analysis regarding the production of EU policies.

What are the findings of the thesis, then? In her answer to the first research question, Niklasson explains how the 1970s were a turning point for the European Parliament, when it designated cultural heritage as an appropriate use of EU budget resources. In this context, archaeology has been considered good for the European project, since as a discipline that provides evidence of the past – a cultural "glue" that can unite the politically-motivated entity – it has historically played an important role in nation-building and region-building projects. In 1976, expenses for cultural projects appeared in the European budget for the first time (keeping in mind, as Niklasson states in her introduction, that the amount allocated to culture by the EU has never exceeded one per cent of the total budget). Protecting European cultural heritage and teaching Europeans about their common identity was considered a necessity in a time of economic crisis and decreasing popular support for economic cooperation in the European Community. At the same time, attentiveness to heritage, archaeological sites, historic buildings, monuments etc. was developing within other international organizations, such as UNESCO, which in 1972 initiated the *World Heritage Convention* to strengthen the protection of the past and its manifestations, since these were increasingly being threatened by the development of modern societies and the pursuit of attractive business opportunities. Meanwhile, the European Community continued its support of heritage, as Niklasson demonstrates with reference to a variety of reports and documents from the European Parliament. Its economic support of the Acropolis in Greece in the late 1970s demonstrates how archaeology came to represent the promise of the European project, since the site was

perceived via archaeological knowledge to represent a kind of origin myth of European unity. But Niklasson's study reveals not only the promise of archaeology for constructing Europe, but also its challenges; among other things, it is perceived as being inflexible and as promoting national belonging. Niklasson shows in the study how difficult it is to create what she calls a European "we-ness" founded in a shared past. She concludes in frank terms, "archaeology has never been of any great importance to the EU. Its position in cultural heritage has fluctuated but there has never existed any grand scheme to create a European past or a united voice when it comes to promoting heritage in the union. Instead national representatives, MEPs and Commission officials have, at different times in EU history and when opportune for other aims, drawn upon cultural heritage, bringing archaeology with it" (Niklasson 2016: 266−267). Niklasson suggests that a further challenge for the discipline is how archaeological scholars find that they have to rewrite archaeology as a tool to define roots, belonging and cultural identity in applications for EU funding. Niklasson criticizes this practice as *application poetry*, despite the fact that cultural actions are often vague in their formulations, since they are an outgrowth of consensus-seeking and the self-perpetuating, bureaucratic machinery, and mostly aim to resist controversy among the different political interests. Niklasson highlights how applicants, expert reviewers and consultants are left to supply the meaning, and as such are responsible for interpreting the European and explaining how their work contributes to *European added value*, a question commonly asked on such cultural programme applications.

Even though it is depressing to read how cultural heritage is so often held hostage to other political agendas instead of being appreciated in its own right, Niklasson also provides an optimistic perspective on behalf of her discipline. By understanding the way funding is administered within the EU, archaeology has the potential to claim the authority to define not only the past but the present. Archaeologists simply need to engage critically with Europe when in dialogue with the EU. Niklasson is convincing in her claim that funding matters – and not only in the literal and very pragmatic sense from the point of view of archaeology. It also matters insofar as it defines the concerns of the EU, and places an obligation on archaeology to take an active part in the ongoing critical negotiation of what is Europe and European.

Marie Riegels Melchior, Copenhagen

Embodying America

Siv Ringdal, Kroppens transformasjoner blant unge Agder-kvinner i New York, 1945–1965. Universitetet i Oslo 2016. 370 pp. Ill. Diss.

■ How was America embodied and materialized by young females from Agder in the middle of the twentieth century? Siv Ringdal's dissertation provides a thorough and interesting cultural analysis of female migrants moving from Agder, Norway, to New York, America, during two decades after World War II. With the body as the analytical perspective and empirical approach, she gives an original contribution to migration history, and a readable representation of the bodily transformations that the geographical and cultural movements involved. A general feature of this dissertation is that it combines various theories and analytical concept in a natural and integral manner, and provides a thorough and well-informed analysis.

The dissertation is extensive: 342 pages of text make up 14 chapters, the bibliography comprises 14 dense pages and the dissertation has three supplementary texts relating to the interview methodology. But no English summary.

The empirical basis of the dissertation is primarily created through interviews with 21 women who, when young and not yet married, moved to New York in the period 1945–1965. Photos and material objects (and especially clothing/garments) have been integrated in the interviews, and have served as "memory hooks" (*mindes kleshængere*). In addition reportage articles from Norwegian and Norwegian-American newspapers are used (especially about the competitions "Miss Norway" and "Viking Queen"), and finally photos and prescriptive literature such as etiquette books, beauty books and Christian moral books. All in all, a clear combination of normative writing and descriptions of actual experience; ideal and real practice.

Ringdal discusses the fieldwork very thoroughly, how the interviews were prepared and conducted, the importance of the material surroundings, and she reflects (with the support of theory) on the use of oral sources. She also discusses the ethical issues in

an exemplary manner. However, she could have critically examined the consequences of the ethically informed choice of anonymity for the majority of the informants. As a reader one could have wished for a less strict policy on the use of illustrations. The dissertation shows only a dozen pictures, and only two of them are related to the women interviewed. At the same time a number of images are discussed in the analysis, but the use of these pictures without provenance (who, when and where) is somewhat frustrating, especially since several photos of the actual informants are described in detail without being included in the dissertation. One cannot help thinking of how the images and the objects that have been the focal point for the interviews could have enriched the dissertation. Thus, it must be questioned whether it was really necessary to omit the large visual material that has formed the empirical basis of the analysis. A very important dimension – the materiality of the bodily transformations which the dissertation investigates – is excluded due to the ethical considerations.

The first two chapters of the dissertation introduce thematic issues, source material, theory and method. The following chapters are organized in three parts, following the main questions of investigation of the dissertation, while a last short chapter "The cultural history of the taken for granted", that is, the history of bodily micro-practices, rounds off the dissertation.

The object of study guiding the analysis is articulated via two main questions: How was America embodied by the young women when arriving, when settled in the New York context and when returning (if they did) to Norway? And which bodily and material expressions did the new life in New York get? These questions form the backdrop for a wide range of issues relating to three versions of the female migrant's body, which are also used to structure the analytical part of the dissertation: the body of labour, the consumer body, and the body of leisure. These three headings work mostly as a good and orderly structure, while it may be argued that it sometimes also appears to be an artificial distinction, where it is not always clear why phenomena such as religion, dresses and deodorants fit into one category and not another. The chosen structure still provides a clear thematic foundation to each chapter and makes sure the readers are offered a broad historical perspective on everything from housework and hygiene (i.e. the use of deodorant, leg shaving, hair washing) to negotiations between religiosity and bodily cultures.

The first part on the working body describes the girls' arrival in Brooklyn, where domestic service often was the first job that the female migrants obtained through their transnational network of mothers, cousins and aunts. Domestic service was poorly paid and without much freedom, but an option when you did not have any skills in the language or any education. Domestic service could later serve as a stepping stone to the US labour market. The Norwegian women were popular and, following the discourses and ethnic stereotypes of the post-war period, known to be hardworking, clean, honest and adaptable. And "white"! In this part of the dissertation the employers are also described, and it was often through the employers that the young women learned the language and "the American way of life". The latter involved a plethora of new cultural phenomena such as technical devices (i.e. refrigerators, washing machines), self-service stores, food culture, personal hygiene and other bodily micro-practices. Some of the young women became part of the family and learned new bodily practices and urban choreographies. This part of the dissertation about the working body deals primarily with the conditions for the women and with the discourses on domestic work, more than the reader comes close to the concrete bodily practices.

The second part is about the consumer body, and here the new bodily practices that the women had to appropriate are analysed – how to wash herself, how to wear make-up, and not least, how to dress and consume clothes – in a whole different way than in Agder. The familiar practices became matter out of place. In a new geographical, location completely different bodily and material practices had to be learned. Furthermore, consumption in America was a case of patriotism and the women had to acquire the new practices of consumption, with a lot of new, colourful and cheap dresses that did not last long. Synthetic materials (nylon in particular) gave new challenges to keep warm in winter or avoid sweating in the summer – and whereas a good knitted sweater could cope with the cold in wintertime, the perspiration and the resulting smell in summer was a new problem, which in turn required new material-discursive practices. One was supposed to be "fresh" – clean and white. And taking a shower became an

everyday activity. In this part of the dissertation, there is much more body and materiality and focus on the micro-processes of the bodily transformations.

Finally, the third part of the dissertation presents the body of leisure or the various bodily choreographies women had to master. Body ideals and guidelines for how to move were not the same in Agder and New York; what was considered sinful (i.e. dancing or going to the cinema), natural or feminine was practised differently. And the young women had to balance between the practical, sensible and natural ideal in Norway on the one hand, and the elegant, made-up, hourglass-shaped and high-heeled bodily ideal in America on the other. The local Brooklyn beauty contests, "Viking Queen" (and "Miss Norway"), where the winner won a trip to Norway and was treated as a semi-official guest with intense media coverage, was one of the scenes where the Norwegian-American hybrid body had to be negotiated and practised. Blond girls were preferred, as this Norwegian-American hybrid body also became a way to perform whiteness in the multi-ethnic Brooklyn. Here the natural blond and the *friske kække jente* (fresh bold girl) became a central white choreography. Furthermore, there were various ways to perform Christianity; in Norway the pietistic bodily choreography characterized by the absence of all that was sinful, and on the other hand the secular or more superficial religious choreographies that could be done in New York. This last part is the most successful of the dissertation when it comes to analysing the diversity of bodily choreographies.

Ringdal is well-read and draws on literature from a wide variety of disciplines: migration history, transnational studies, cultural studies of consumption, media, the history of the body, etc.; and last but not least ethnology which is the field in which she inscribes her dissertation. As regards theory and methodology, it is Science and Technology Studies (STS) that provide the perspective and procedure. Here Ringdal combines the more historical and social science-based research which she refers to with a more empirical analysis. With reference to the cultural studies she draws on, she states that "a problem with parts of this research is that it often takes the form of a macro social analysis in which phenomena are painted with a broad brush on a large canvas" (p. 17). In contrast to this, the STS perspective is presented as a tool to get close to each individual and body. However, this perspective does not seem fulfilled in the first two parts of the analysis. This is probably linked to the use of literature with heavy emphasis on the legitimation of norms. One can question whether norms are something external one simply just has to adapt. Or could she have reached a deeper understanding of the informants' practices by other interpretations? As mentioned, the dissertation succeeds best in the analysis of the various Christian choreographies (ch. 13), where Ringdal breaks new analytical ground. Here there is no doubt that the dissertation contributes new and important understandings of how bodily transformations and migration are entangled.

The field of Norwegian-American migration history that has its academic canons and thus has created its own genre is also discussed, which is laudable. It is argued that Norwegian-American historians have created an image of the Norwegian immigrants as very adaptive and conforming to the contemporary American ideologies. This tradition is partly challenged, but also to some extent continued in this dissertation. The specific perspective on women's experiences however, offers a new understanding in relation to previous research. Transnationality is discussed in relation to the migration network between Agder and Brooklyn. This perspective could have been better used by also looking at the transference between the two locations, rather than contrast only. The same applies to connections with existing research on migration and cultural history, and consumer history and cultural studies. The dissertation lacks a broad overall discussion of these fields that would have made it possible for Ringdal to treat them critically and clarify her own contribution in relation to the fields. Similarly, the continuity from earlier migration could have been better integrated. Other women's experiences from the interwar years – the mothers and aunts – are mentioned, but to a limited extent the subject of analysis.

Despite this criticism, there is no doubt that this is a very interesting dissertation that contributes to substantial and new understandings of women's migration experiences. And it raises the overarching question of how we write the cultural history of the "taken-for-granted" and often untold; of bodily practices and especially the gendered micro-practices in the past, which we cannot observe directly and which often are absent in the source

material. The question of how to do ethnography of the past!

Tine Damsholt, Copenhagen

Authentic Living through Native Faith

Jenni Rinne, Searching for Authentic Living through Native Faith. The Maausk movement in Estonia. Södertörn University, Huddinge 2016. 218 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-91-87843-49-5.

■ This ambitious work addresses the Estonian *Maausk* movement: native faith groups with a special relationship to nature and practices inspired by traditional folk beliefs. In Maausk, certain places and entities are defined as sacred and worth preserving, and the author seeks in her work to unpack the meanings and practices surrounding these values. Participation in this movement is not described as homogeneous nor necessarily linked to formal, institutional organizations, although a central organization exists. Instead, much of the practice of Maausk takes place on the level of the family and the individual.

The author takes an ethnographic approach in her research and focuses on the analysis of culture at several levels: nation, group, individual. The work as a whole is well written and is structured around three main themes: (1) identity construction; (2) sacred places; and (3) the meaning and construction of folk traditions. The author's rich empirical source materials are based on 23 interviews as well as participant observation conducted in the Estonian language over a period of nearly five years. Although the interviews are highly informative regarding the meanings assigned to practices and sacred places by Maausk participants, it is the author's participant observation that occupies a central role in the data gathering and analysis, since the author sought to learn *through doing*. During her fieldwork, she paid particular attention to the experiences and feelings of the persons she studied, making the primary focus of the study neither practice nor performance, but instead the relationship between Maausk participation and *affect*. The author defines affect as a concept that refers to the emotional level of human existence, experienced with the body through senses and feelings.

The author's methodological approach is based on the sensory ethnography proposed by the visual anthropologist Sarah Pink, and her analysis is bolstered by Margaret Wetherell's theory of affect as well as the phenomenological approach of Maurice Merleau-Ponty. The book provides a strong reflexive analysis of how knowledge was transmitted to the author through bodily participation and her openness to feelings and sensations. She also provides a thought-provoking description of her own self-reflection regarding her position and role in her research.

The author makes a good case for the central role played by affect in Maausk, and makes the insightful point in her conclusion that those Maausk practitioners who attempt to live alternative lives do not generally verbalize their resistance to the complex hegemonies that influence their daily life, but expressed it through embodied affect. In fact, the main point that the author makes in her research is that Maausk represents the formation of an ethno-religious group identity which is at the same time a form of social resistance, and that this resistance is carried out not necessarily in an explicit or verbal manner, but through the bodily experience of alternative lifestyles. The author's choice of approaches, that is, phenomenology and the concept of "affect", are thus successful in that they provide useful analytic tools for drawing meaning out the author's empirical source materials and for producing new insights.

In addition to examining Maausk from the perspective of the sensations and feelings experienced by Maausk participants, the author goes further by placing these experiences in their specific historical and social contexts, namely the Soviet and post-Soviet period as well as the current effects of global and neoliberal restructuring of Estonian economy and society. The value of the author's historical contextualization of Maausk becomes particularly apparent in her discussion of whether or not participants view Maausk as a religion on a par with other religions like Christianity.

The author adopts the compelling approach that religious affiliation does not necessarily reveal everything about people's everyday religious practices and beliefs. Due to historical circumstances, Estonians tend to be suspicious of official or institutional religion, and therefore surveys of church attendance are insufficient measures of people's religious commitment. Thus religious agency goes beyond mere institutional participation or non-partici-

pation, and there is much more beneath the surface to explore than what is readily visible. Most Maausk participants prefer not to define their movement as a religion, instead, they often associate religion with something shameful or embarrassing, and the author provides an interesting and clear discussion of why this is so. She also brings up the interesting point that participants' view of the relationship between Maausk and the concept of institutionalized religion varies according to the situation and the political aims of the participants.

The author argues that Maausk represents a late modern religious movement that is not just centred on the individual and his/her psychological development, but is intrinsically linked to community, local place, local and national history, and current economic pressures. Yet as the author also points out, individuals who identify with Maausk and authorities who claim to speak on behalf of organized Maausk groups may have differing criteria for what is really authentic in Maausk belief and practice.

The author concludes that a major theme of Maausk discourses has been a deep connection to, and claims to, places and territories constructed as sacred. The legitimacy of these claims was bolstered through constructing an imagined past for such places and territories. Fruitfully linking her focus on affect to the construction of place, the author defines "place" not as a "thing" but as an event. The importance of the home, that is, the private and domestic sphere in constructing meanings surrounding place is mentioned repeatedly throughout the work. The author insightfully points out that embodied practices carried out by Maausk participants, that is, various forms of singing and dancing "traditions", are a way of creating connections to the past and imagined ancestors, especially when there is no actual way to know for certain the past content or meaning of traditional or ancient practices.

The author points out that in Maausk, the private and the domestic are valued in terms of the symbolic meanings of space and objects, and home is seen as "pure" and the opposite of industrial or institutional. Thus the aim for many Maausk practitioners is not to make sacred places available to the public but to make them private, only for the use of Maausk adherents and to protect them from the public. This can lead to stances in conflict with those of heritage and environmental protection institutions when it comes to how these groups perceive the purposes and uses of spaces seen as sacred. On the other hand, those who self-identify as Maausk adherents also learn about "tradition" from heritage institutions such as museums, so that what emerges is a picture of a complex relationship between informal and formal/institutional sources of knowledge in Maausk.

In its treatment of Maausk, the study raises a number of intriguing questions to which it does not always provide answers. Since the study emphasizes the diversity of practices related to Maausk, it remains unclear what is the core of Maausk's faith, commitment or world view. The reader is left wondering, if Maausk participants have a core set of beliefs or practices, even loose ones, how do they transmit and maintain this core? It must also be pointed out that the work is characterized by something of an overreach in terms of theory and concepts. There is an attempt to introduce so many theoretical perspectives – all of them interesting – that the author has understandably had difficulties in weaving these various theoretical strands together, and the result is a rather eclectic and fragmented overall impression of the analysis.

The author places her research squarely within field of the ethnology of religion, and provides a good overview of ethnological perspectives of religion in the Baltic region and parts of Scandinavia. However, the study could have benefited from a broader engagement with anthropological, sociological and religious studies research on folk and popular religion written since the early 1990s – much of it focusing on local identity and local history. In a similar vein, the author's claim that knowledge is *embodied while doing* during the transmission process is persuasive, but would have been better supported by the large volume of ritual theory in ethnologically-oriented fields already available on this topic (e.g. Catherine Bell, Tomas Gerholm, Roy Rappaport, Jean Comaroff). And while I applaud the focus on lived experience as a key means of gaining new insights into everyday ethno-religiosity, from a methodological and analytical perspective, there is little or no acknowledgement of the role played by discourse, language and narrative in shaping this experience.

On the whole, however, it has been difficult to find any areas which deserve serious criticism in a work which is so well written and which has so much new knowledge to offer. The research design

and research questions asked are both solid and relevant. The overall analysis of the empirical source material is carefully executed and the ideas presented are successfully tied together to create important insights. The findings are without a doubt valid and convincing. One of the great strengths of this study is the author's perceptive use of her own experience in participant observation, her recognition that when she saw research participants being moved by something, she was moved by it too, which aided her in understanding how bodily practice, social interaction, meaningful space, and feeling were all intertwined. Indeed, the author's systematic recording of her own emotions, sensations and impressions in the field is a methodologically innovative approach which represents the cutting edge of ethnological research. This methodology helped her to access the affective and physical experiences that comprise the meaning and motivation for Maausk participants, and as such represents a valuable contribution to the fields of ethnology, anthropology, and religious studies.

Laura Stark, Jyväskylä

Expeditions to the Children's Wear Islands and Museum Collections

Päivi Roivainen, Puettu lapsuus. Löytöretkiä lastenvaatteiden saarille. Kansatieteellinen Arkisto 56. Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys, Helsinki 2016. 335 pp. (English abstract: Dressed Childhood. Journeys to the Children's Wear Islands.). Diss. ISBN 978-951-9 057-98-9.

■ Dressing, childhood and children's clothing are not unknown fields in Finnish ethnology. Neither are museum collections or interviews strange sources in ethnological research. On the contrary: museums and ethnology have a long shared history in Finland, and we ethnologists have always learned to ask people about their daily life. Nonetheless, Päivi Roivainen's dissertation *Dressed Childhood: Journeys to the Children's Wear Islands* manages to open new views and to utilize both museum collections and interviews as sources of her research in an innovative way. Roivainen's dissertation can be considered as a fresh new start both in ethnology and in museology or the museum field in Finland.

Päivi Roivainen's topic is the clothing of Finnish children below school age, during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In her research, she asks how children's wear is discussed, which features have been considered important in clothing, and what this tells us about the meanings of childhood. Roivainen makes children themselves central actors of her research by interviewing them about their own experiences of clothing in general and children's wear in museum collections. How do children themselves experience and interpret both historical and contemporary clothes? As a by-product of this research, much wider questions are answered as well: How well can the museum collections explain children's clothing or even childhood? How can we study and interpret museum objects?

The research benefits from a combination of various sources, nearly 750 museum objects in the collections of the Helsinki City Museum, interviews of 5- to 7-year-old children, inquiries and child-care literature, and from multistrategy, i.e. combining various methods. Roivainen approaches her topic concurrently from the past and the present, emphasizing that different time levels are always present when we collect, discuss and study the past. Interpreting and giving meanings to the children's wear of the past century tells us just as much about the present day. She points out that for this reason she does not want to tie her study strictly to any exact time or place, and not even social dimensions emerge clearly in her research. This is, however, one of the problematic sides of the study, as cultural objects are always also anchored to their own time, place and social context. To what extent does this choice reduce our view of the real nature of children's clothing and to what extent does it really serve the research problem, understanding the cultural meanings given to childhood in Finland during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, without generalization?

The research is divided into three main parts, *On the Pier* (introduction), *Children's Wear Islan*ds and *Souvenirs from the Children's Wear Islands* (epilogue). The metaphor of "children's wear islands" is based on the way many childhood researchers have seen the worlds of children; there are spaces, opinions and ideals – culture − defined and limited especially for children. The idea and concept of childhood becomes visible, for example, in children's clothing. As such "islands" Päivi Roivainen points out ways of understanding cleanliness, practicality,

fashion and beauty, colours and prints, and the multisensory materiality of children's wear. As two of her islands she additionally names the age periods of childhood, and museum collections which also define the way we see Finnish childhood of the past century.

The research is not only ethnology, or material culture studies, but opens up museological viewpoints as well. For this reason, defining *an (ordinary) object*, which is here thoroughly done, is not, in my opinion, quite enough for the conceptual needs of this research. When using museum collections as sources, the definition(s) of *a museum object* would have given more assertiveness to the research. What is the exact distinction between an object and a museum object? Understanding and defining also the musealization process more clearly would have helped in interpreting the objects and explaining the cultural networks of the (museum) objects and their meanings. A museum object is always not only evidence of the real past, but also of the museum history, choices made by museum professionals. Without this context, it is impossible to describe and understand the human culture documented in the museum collections.

Taking this museum history and museum processes more clearly into account would have been extremely important especially when considering children's clothing through museum collections. Besides her qualitative methods in the research, Roivainen introduces a quantitative way to take over and study large research materials in the museum collection database. This is seen even as a methodological experiment in a museum context. She uses data mining and draws diagrams and figures of the museum-documented children's wear to be able to answer the question: how is the material history of childhood seen through museum collections? Even though the museum history and historical collection management policies are not sufficiently shown here to explain these figures, Päivi Roivainen gives Finnish museums and their collection management professionals a lot to think about. Digital humanities can greatly help in handling museum collections as research materials, and museums' collection databases should probably serve much better in data mining processes in future, if we want to increase the research use of our museum collections.

The other central method of this dissertation, ethnographical analysis based on ethnographical writing and interviewing children under school age, is, in my opinion, the most inspiring part of Päivi Roivainen's research. Taking children as co-researchers of the study is an innovative and creative way of interpreting cultural expressions, children's wear in the museum collections. Roivainen showed pictures of historical children's wear to her young interviewees and asked them to comment on the clothes. The children's comments and interpretations tell a lot about opinions and meanings connected to today's childhood. This method combines, in an interesting way, modern ethnology and processes of assessing the significance of museum collections. The latter has been introduced in the international museum field during the past decade (for example *Significance 2.0* in Australia, *Assessing Museum Collections* in the Netherlands, *Reviewing Significance* in Great Britain and *Merkitysanalyysimenetelmä* in Finland). Essential to these methods is the way individuals and societies are taken in the processes where museum objects and collections are interpreted and given meanings. Päivi Roivainen's research becomes even more exciting as these individuals are 5- to 7-year-old children with great creativity and imagination. It also shows that in ethnological research mostly traditional methods like interviewing and examining museum collections are still relevant and can even be used in a fresh and fruitful ways.

What do we learn, then, during these expeditions to the children's wear islands, about children's clothing and meanings given to childhood? Children's clothes indicate meanings given to childhood but they also shape the ways of being a child. Clothes may have allowed as well as restricted children's doing: in Finland practicality and technical features of children's wear, for example, have long been important as outdoor activities in any weather are seen as part of good childhood. The idea of innocent, clean and tidy children has been strongly emphasized in clothing. Children themselves appreciate happy colours, imaginative prints and magic feeling, as well as similar clothing on other children. The multisensory materiality is emphasized when children themselves talk about clothing: they judge the clothes on the grounds of comfort. They want to feel comfortable, experience a pleasant touch and be able to move easily.

What then are the lessons of the expedition for the museum collections? Museum collections in

Finland seem to describe, as Päivi Roivainen points out, mostly a wealthy, ideal, desirable childhood and adults' attitudes toward childhood. However, museum collections still have great potential; they are dynamic sources that should be used, interpreted and further developed both in museums and in ethnological research.

Leena Paaskoski, Helsinki

The Power of Death

Christina Sandberg, Med döden som protagonist. En diskursanalytisk studie om dödens makt. Åbo Akademis förlag, Åbo 2016. 246 pp. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-951-765-846-1.

■ Christina Sandberg, with her dissertation in folkloristics, "With death as protagonist: A discourse-analysis case study of the power of death", tackles a subject that concerns us all: death. She thus inscribes herself in a long-established tradition in ethnology/folkloristics where many studies have been conducted, albeit from partly different angles. Louise Hagberg's *När döden gästar* (1937, reprinted 2015) is emblematic here, but other ethnologists and folklorists have explored this theme.

Christina Sandberg's dissertation is a non-illustrated monograph of 246 pages, including the list of sources and references and an appendix reproducing the informants' narratives about family and death. The aim is to show, from a folkloristic perspective and with examples from the author's interview material, the forms of power that can be exercised in connection with a death in the family, and the consequences that acts of power in the discourse of death can have for those concerned, but also how power is expressed during the actual interviews. The starting point is Michel Foucault's thesis that power is ever-present everywhere in all relationships.

The dissertation is mainly based on interviews but also brings in written material, including scholarly studies in different disciplines dealing with death, and some more popular works. Sandberg begins with a survey of research on death, ideas about death, and rituals of death, which shows that she is thoroughly familiar with the topic, both in folkloristics/ethnology and in other disciplines.

The dissertation is arranged in four parts – "Researching death", "Talking about death", "Acting around death", and "Exposing power in the discourse of death" – structured as a kind of journey from illness and death to the funeral, the mourning, and the reorientation in the informants' lives. The first part provides a background, stating the aim, material, theory, and method, and presenting research on death in different disciplines and from different angles. The author also considers the place of death in the public and the private sphere and the changes that have taken place there.

Christina Sandberg has done extensive fieldwork. Her main material consists of interviews with five families, with thirteen informants in all, who obviously appear here under fictitious names. The first interviews were structured, while the rest had the character of open conversations. Moreover, Sandberg has interviewed people who come into contact with death in their professional work (doctor, priest, police officer, psychologist, two funeral directors). The solid empirical material is one of the merits of the study.

The fieldwork was conducted from 2001 to 2007, while the writing of the dissertation began in 2005. In 2009 the author then changed her theoretical and methodological perspective, from folkloristic narrative research on how death is perceived in today's society, to discourse analysis inspired by Michel Foucault's theories and discussions of power (more on the change of perspective below).

The author shows that she is well read in literature dealing with ethnographic method and fieldwork; she discusses different interview methods, their advantages and disadvantages. She also touches on matters to do with nearness and distance. She writes (referring to Eero Suoninen 1993): "It is important for the researcher to distance himself from the speaking person, the informant, and to focus on patterns of meaning in the language, which gives a better perception of things like the informant's role identity and how it is steered by conventions in different contexts" (p. 32). But is that really how folklorists and ethnologists work today? Of course we must try to learn the difficult art of alternating between nearness and distance in the research process, as Billy Ehn writes about in *Vardagslivets etnologi* (1996), but here it almost sounds as if the researcher should have a purely instrumental attitude to the informants. I do not think that Sandberg displays such an attitude in her study. She seems like an attentive and respectful interviewer, able to be present in the interview situation, but also

mastering the art of distancing herself when it comes to analysing the material.

As always, there are many aspects to contemplate as regards interviews, and Christina Sandberg reflects on many of them, but for some others I would have liked to see a more profound discussion, for instance about how significant it is that she knew some informants beforehand, but not others. Moreover, it would have been valuable to discuss the study design as regards the interviews with different family members. What can it have meant that the last informant to be interviewed in a family could possibly have received information from the others about what the interview would deal with?

Otherwise I would underline that Sandberg has a good discussion of the interview method and her own role as an interviewer in terms of power. She talks here of self-reflection, not reflexivity, which is the normal term in today's ethnological/folkloristic research, at least in Sweden. Here, however, I would have liked to read more profound reflections on some matters of research ethics. One concerns language. Since some of the informants speak Swedish and others Finnish, the Finnish quotations have been translated into Swedish, which is not entirely without problems. There is some discussion of this problem, but the consequences of this approach should have been discussed in more detail.

Michel Foucault believes that power is to be found everywhere, and Christina Sandberg quotes his elegant statement: "people know what they do; they frequently know why they do what they do; but what they don't know is what they do does" (in Dreyfus & Rabinow 1998:187). Palpably inspired by Foucault, she discusses how power relations and acts of power are visible in virtually every context, but without considering factors such as gender or class, areas where power relations otherwise tend to make themselves felt.

Sandberg discusses power relations elsewhere, for example, how they can be expressed during fieldwork. She critically scrutinizes her own role as an interviewer. She also makes the reader aware that power is not solely manifested through speech and deeds, but can also be expressed in various strategies of silence. In her material she finds different kinds of silence: the silence of death's presence, the merciful silence, and the silence of helplessness. In addition there are different linguistic markers that maintain silence or involve circumlocutions, such as metaphors. Body language, too, shows whether the informant is uncomfortable and does not want to go into a subject in depth. But power, of course, is also expressed in different forms of action. Here Sandberg talks of the power of sickness, the power of death, and the power of society.

The power of sickness is exemplified by all the authorities to which one is exposed when one is seriously ill, for instance in the health service (the power of authoritarian health care). But it is also a matter of expectations, explicit and implicit, that relatives should always be available to look after a sick person, being prepared if the sick person is in hospital and even more so if the person is at home. The power of death, for example, can be about how spouses are affected by seeing their partner waste away as the will to live declines. Having detailed memories of the event (the death) and being able to convey them can be viewed as an expression of the power of death: when no one remembers you any longer, you are definitively dead! The power of society includes, for instance, attempts to revive a person, the requirement to call the police in the event of a death in the home, the use of black body bags, the hearse that comes instead of an ambulance, and it includes the actions (empathetic, instrumental, friendly, reserved, etc.) of the professional actors (police, health care staff).

One section is about funerals, showing that the survivors always try to satisfy the wishes of the deceased as regards the form of the funeral. If there are no such wishes, they try to arrange the funeral in the way one thinks the person would have wanted it. Religion as such is pretty much absent from the text, however, which is somewhat surprising. Even if the informants did not consider themselves or the deceased as being particularly religious, one might have expected some reflections on faith and religion. What is discussed, on the other hand, is different forms of condolences. Often a hug or a firm handshake is preferable to empty words or expressions of the type "it was God's will" or "it must be a relief that he/she no longer has to suffer".

An interesting section deals with who assumes the role, or is assigned the role, of primary mourner in a family: the widow/widower, the children, or the parents. An important observation is that a person can be the primary mourner in one context but not in another. Here different power relations are built in, as when a young widow is not assigned the role of

primary mourner, because her mother-in-law claimed that role.

Finally the author discusses the period of reorientation that begins roughly a year after the death, when the relatives can begin to return to some kind of normality again and find meaning in their lives. In the conclusion the author also discusses how the informants create identity in relation to the deceased. It is tactful not to speak ill of the dead, and in principle Sandberg's informants do not do so. Instead all the dead person's good points are emphasized. They are described as active, positive, and strong individuals, and the informants not infrequently say how like themselves the dead person was, which Sandberg calls positive manipulation. The opposite is negative manipulation, when the informant mentions his or her own (or someone else's) negative properties in contrast to the deceased. These types of manipulation create a certain picture in the interviewer/researcher, both of the deceased and of the informant and can thus be regarded as a kind of power action, albeit unconscious.

Christina Sandberg describes the change of theory and method she made from what we can call folkloristic narrative research to discourse analysis. This happened in 2009, that is, after she had already collected her material. The former perspective, she says, had been "boned too much" by earlier research (p. 40). Sources of inspiration that she mentions besides discourse analysis are ethnological cultural analysis in the style of Billy Ehn and Orvar Löfgren, as well as grounded theory. She does not often link back to the latter, however, in the rest of the book.

As the folklorist she basically is, Sandberg thinks that narrative theory focuses its research on the narrator, on genre-specific rules, narrative conventions, and the textualization process, whereas the communicative relationship between the statements and their effect in the discourse is what discourse theory focuses on. This sounds reasonable. It seems to me, however, that the author has tried to combine these theoretical approaches, although it may be questioned whether one can really combine them. I feel some doubt, as I would claim that it is noticeable throughout that Sandberg as a researcher is primarily schooled in folkloristics. This is evident, for instance, in the sections dealing with interpretation, close reading, and transcription.

Christina Sandberg regards her investigation as a case study inspired by cultural analysis where she uses the approach of discourse analysis to see how power is expressed in different discourses about death. She writes: "Through cultural analysis I get clues to how people are schooled in and influenced by different communities and their traditions, while discourse analysis, through studies of speech acts, gives clues to how people themselves perceive and interpret a phenomenon or an experience and what consequences this has for the person" (p. 31). For me this sounds somewhat contradictory, since I see cultural analysis and discourse analysis as having different goals. Cultural analysis searches for underlying patterns, while discourse analysis is not interested in anything underlying but (in this case) in the speech act in the moment, here and now.

Discourse analysis does not focus on individual people's intentions and ways of thinking, Sandberg writes. Instead the researcher is interested in how discourses are produced, "for example how one's own and other people's identity is created in different specific contexts" (p. 29). This makes me wonder, however. Can one merge discourse analysis with research on identity? Perhaps this has to do with the choice of words by the researchers to whom Sandberg refers and not her own stance. I myself associate the concept of identity with modernity studies, whereas discourse analysis seem to me to be more akin to post-modernity and post-structuralism.

Christina Sandberg discusses memories and narratives, describing the phenomenon that a narrative about a particular event can set its stamp on the memory of the actual event or experience. Memory is thus affected by how the event/experience is retold. I would have liked to see more of this interesting discussion in the analysis of Sandberg's own material, as this is a discussion that is relevant for anyone using interviews as research material. Most ethnologists and folklorists today probably agree that it is virtually impossible to tell about an event "just as it was". Even a highly realistic rendering of what happened contains interpretations and angles, which the narrator often does not even reflect on. In that sense all narratives are "fabricated" without necessarily being "a pack of lies".

Another aspect of the relationship between (life) stories, interviews, and memories has to do with the distance in time. How far back in time the deaths described in the dissertation happened ought surely to entail certain differences as regards memory and retelling. Some of the deaths had taken place fairly

relatively recently, while others were several decades ago. The distance in time probably affects the informants' recollections in different ways, which could have been discussed more by Sandberg. There is a rich body of research literature on this "gilding" of memories.

Christina Sandberg's dissertation is well written, but there are some typographic errors. Perhaps pressure for time can explain some of the careless mistakes. Sometimes colloquial turns of phrase are blended in the otherwise scholarly language, but not so much as to spoil the overall impression. The way the bibliography is divided thematically is no doubt good if one is looking for a specific topic, but it can take some leafing back and forth to find different works under the right heading.

Summing up, the aim of the dissertation is to apply a folkloristic perspective and use examples from interview material to show what kinds of power action can occur in connection with a death in the family and the consequences the power actions in the discourse of death can have for those concerned, and also how power is expressed during the actual interviews. This aim, in my opinion, is achieved, but I wonder whether the author could not have achieved similar results even without having relied so much on discourse analysis. A lasting impression is that Sandberg chiefly demonstrates her competence as a researcher schooled in folkloristics, where she moves with a sure foot. Power and discourse analysis, on the other hand, although given a lot of space in the introduction, is not fully integrated in the analytical chapters. The approach of considering different power relations and power actions which arise in connection with a death is however innovative and worth highlighting. Especially interesting is the discussion of the primary mourner in the family, a path that can certainly be further explored.

Finally, I would say that Christina Sandberg's dissertation is a study that more than fills its place in the ethno-folkloristic field. It is also a welcome contribution to the scholarly discussion about the outlook on death, dying, and mourning in a contemporary context. One of the great merits is Sandberg's fieldwork and the solid empirical material that she has created, which serves as a good foundation for the study. By conducting a contemporary study and being so well read in the research field, she has made an important contribution to ethnological and folkloristic research about death and rituals of death. The study will be of interest for future research in this field for both ethnologists/folklorists and researchers in other disciplines, as well as interested general readers. Moreover, the interview material itself, which is now archived, will surely be a rewarding source for future researchers.

Birgitta Meurling, Uppsala

History of an Immigrant Neighbourhood in Denmark

Garbi Schmidt, Nørrebros indvandringshistorie 1885–2010. Museum Tusculanums Forlag, København 2015. 491 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-87-635-4338-5.

■ What happens with places that suddenly receive a large number of newcomers over a relatively short time? How do some places seem to be more prepared than other places when it comes to including new arrivals? Such questions may rack one's brain in these times of migrant flows and changing border practices in Europe. One way of reflecting on this is to read the Danish scholar Garbi Schmidt's comprehensive book *Nørrebros indvandringshistorie 1885–2010* from 2015. Schmidt is a so-called "professor with special responsibilities" (MSO professor in Danish) within the field of cultural encounters studies at Roskilde University, and *Nørrebros indvandringshistorie 1885–2010* is her doctoral thesis. The focus in this urban history that Schmidt delineates is on the area of Nørrebro in central Copenhagen. Schmidt asks how this urban neighbourhood has developed into a specific area in the city and at the same time played the role of a relatively liberal receiver of im/migrants from different parts of Denmark and the rest of the world.

The book contains seven chapters. In the introduction a background is given to how Schmidt decided to explore Nørrebro's immigration history in the first place. She started her research process by looking at young Muslims in Denmark as a whole, but eventually moved from a national to a local as well as historical perspective on immigration. Additionally, in this introduction she provides an overview of central theoretical concepts and of previous research on Nørrebro. She also explains how she has worked with what she calls mixed methods, including both quantitative and qualitative approaches and

data. In these introductory pages the aim of her thesis is formulated too. Crucial for her work was to develop a perspective on integration, cultural encounters and immigration based on the study of a specific urban context where people live together, make contacts and influence each other.

The empirical parts of the book have a chronological storyline. The first empirical chapter describes Nørrebro as a relatively young urban area during the period 1885–1915. In these years Nørrebro had a growing population of immigrants from Sweden, Russia and other European countries. Simultaneously the neighbourhood was the centre of the fast-growing labour movement of the time. In the second empirical chapter Schmidt focuses on the immigration that took place as a consequence of the Second World War. During this turbulent period in European history, which in the book stretches from 1935 to 1947, Nørrebro was particularly affected by the immigration of German Jews and German war refugees. As the constant centre of the labour movement it was also an arena for different social clashes. In the third empirical chapter, which deals with the period 1960–1971, Nørrebro experiences a redevelopment at the same time as new immigrant groups, in the form of guest workers from countries such as Yugoslavia and Turkey, establish themselves in the area. Nørrebro was seen as a slum by many, but also as a place for community and for alternative and experimental living. The fourth empirical chapter looks at a specific event of political activism during the years 1978–1982. A playground called "Byggeren" that was in the middle of a conflict between different social and economic interests led to clashes with the police in Nørrebro. In the fifth empirical chapter we are in contemporary times, 2000–2010. Nørrebro has now become an immigrant neighbourhood in everyone's eyes, but also an area with gang criminality and drug abuse. Religion in general and Islam in particular have become significant elements for how the old working-class environments are represented in the public discourse on immigration and integration.

The introduction also has a methodological section. Here Schmidt explains how she has used a triangulation of different methods and sources. She has combined a quantitative and qualitative approach in her explorations of Nørrebro's immigration history. Census data and statistics, for example, are applied in order to find out how many immigrants have lived in Nørrebro during the different periods. But the analyses are also based on qualitative sources, such as memoirs and personal narratives and newspaper articles. For her contemporary chapters she has moreover conducted fieldwork including observations and qualitative interviews. Altogether it is a big corpus of material that Schmidt leans on in her thesis. The material has been collected in collaboration with student assistants who have contributed statistics and interviews over the years.

As regards theory the book refers to a current discussion on space and place. In this conceptual discussion Schmidt is particularly inspired by the French sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebvre and his understanding of the city as a social production of heterogeneous space. In the theoretical section of her introduction Schmidt relates to Lefebvre's well-known analytical triad of spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces. Other central contributors to Schmidt's perspective are renowned geographers like John Agnew (the distinction between space and place) and Doreen Masey (relational space and the concept of throwntogetherness). The French cultural theorist Michel de Certeau also plays a significant role in connecting narration to travelling and movement. Schmidt also takes part in a Danish discussion on urban space where, among others, the geographer Kirsten Simonsen contributes by highlighting the role of the narrative when it comes to how place and space are constituted.

Schmidt introduces the concept of grounded politics (*hverdagsrummets politik* in Danish). Here she mixes Lefebvre's perspective on the city together with her own interest in the urban street and public space. This grounded politics become particularly clear in the last empirical chapter where demonstrations and political manifestations are the object of her reflections on what contemporary Nørrebro has transformed into. However, the empirical chapters do not have any profound discussion other than just a mention now and then of one or two of the concepts that Lefebvre, Agnew, Massey and the other theorists have conceived. These chapters that mirror Nørrebro's historical transformations as place and space are basically an empirical review of all the different sources that Schmidt uses for her argument. The different sources – newspaper articles, interviews, survey data, etc. – together give a considerable and convincing picture of Nørrebro's step-

wise and ambiguous development from labour symbol to immigrant centre. But in this empirical reporting, more in-depth reflections on the theoretical concepts that are shared with social science in general are lost.

The book is a brick. Almost 500 pages long, it has a nice layout and quite a few illustrations: figures, tables, maps and photos. It also has a section with an appendix and an index of names and topics at the very end.

What then about the space, place and scale of Nørrebro? What does Schmidt conclude regarding this topic? Nørrebro has definitely changed over the years. The area has grown in territorial terms while it simultaneously has turned into a complex city-scape. But Nørrebro has also persevered as a form of symbol for how the city and even the nation can be perceived in different respects. The neighbourhood was long a labour movement symbol and today it has become the arena for how Muslim identity can be performed and debated in Danish society. In these changing contexts Nørrebro as a place in a way included and connects what is local, national and transnational at the same time.

Nørrebros indvandringshistorie 1885–2010 is impressive when it comes to how micro and macro perspectives are linked. Still I miss a more analytical understanding of what I see as a form of categorization practices in situated processes. Schmidt focuses on the concept of the immigrant (*indvandraren*) and she certainly offers some important insights into this question: how for example the definition of this category has changed over time. However, while reading the empirical chapters of the book I constantly feel that there are several opportunities to go even deeper into this question of categorization by looking not only at how Nørrebro is constituted as place and relational space but also how different categories and identifications are made on street level and in everyday life contexts. Thrownogetherness is an interesting wording for understanding these interconnections and diachronic relations that the thesis displays, but in my view the discussion would have gained by using concepts that referred more to social dynamics of different kinds rather than to the spatial formations implied by the concepts of place, space and scale.

Markus Idvall, Lund

Changing a Lifestyle

Maja Schøler, "At være på livsstilsændringer er bare meget lettere". Et antropologisk studie af en gruppe overvægtige mænds erfaringer med at ændre livsstil. Det humanistiske fakultet, Københavns universitet. 2016. 196 pp. Diss.

■ Rising costs for health care entail a need for more research about how people relate to health matters in everyday life. For that reason, this is an important dissertation. The title means *"Being on lifestyle changes is just so much easier": An anthropological study of a group of overweight men and their experience of changing lifestyle*. The choice to focus on men is also well justified, since previous studies have shown that men die earlier than women and that their attitude to health matters seems irrational. Through the dissertation the author seeks to contribute more knowledge about men's attitudes to health and thus also create the conditions for future health work.

The dissertation is well written and informative. The study looks at a group of overweight men aiming to achieve a healthy lifestyle through small changes in diet and exercise habits. To achieve this goal they take part in a course to help them achieve a balanced way of life between health ideals and culturally shaped everyday habits. Schøler regards the course as a project in cultural education since it seeks to create "men-with-a-healthy-lifestyle".

The main material in the dissertation consists of field notes compiled during the course and in connection with observations in the homes of four participants. Alongside this the author has conducted twelve semi-structured interviews and continuously talked informally with the men as the course proceeded. The methods are well chosen and justified in relation to the purpose.

By elucidating the tension between everyday habits and health ideals, the author is continuing a well-established research tradition in cultural analysis, and also a vigorous research field in the health sciences. Schøler, however, challenges a couple of central premises in this field. First of all, there is the assumption that a change of habits is a result of reflexive practices and rational choices. This attitude is common in the health sciences and is often accompanied by a powerful faith in knowledge: If people get more information about diet or exercise, they will change their lives in a healthy direction.

This intellectual tradition often ignores the fact that everyday life is permeated with several different cultural logics or norms that collide with the health ideals, which means that people do not always follow the advice of health experts. Secondly, the dissertation challenges a common assumption in cultural studies, namely, that habits are hard to change because they are internalized and rooted in everyday bodily practices.

In theoretical terms the dissertation is inspired by Michel Foucault's studies of how people shape their lives, their identity, through discursively formed technologies of the self. The author has an independent approach to this overall theoretical framework and adds other concepts that make it possible to analyse the complexity of everyday life and the nuances in people's lived life. Through a reflective use of Foucault's perspective and by adding other concepts, Schøler produces more knowledge about men's health and lifestyle.

The dissertation also has a clear theoretical goal, namely, to develop the concept of lifestyle in relation to how it has been used in the cultural sciences and the health sciences. In the former, lifestyle is understood as collective and often unreflected practices, whereas in the latter lifestyle is understood as an individual, risky project that is susceptible to change. Schøler launches an alternative concept of lifestyle: an ethnographic perspective that is close to practice, which understands lifestyle as lived experience that is shaped at the intersection between different interests (on the one hand externally formulated health ideals and on the other hand stable collective and habit-based bodily practices). In this understanding lifestyle is a practice shaped by dreams, hopes, and moral duties, and by creative negotiations between structural possibilities and limitations. To put it differently, Schøler's concept of lifestyle comprises both unreflected and reflected practices.

The dissertation discusses how the participants do lifestyle change through three analytical cross-sections: materiality, body, and sociality. Schøler shows how changes are practised in everyday life; how artefacts and advice contribute to a change in routines; how bodily techniques assist in control of the body and how the body is simultaneously a starting point for change; and how social communities or relations contribute to change through exchange of experiences. These three aspects are related to each other but are treated as three distinct micro-processes intended to enable a distinct analysis of the details and the complexity of everyday life. This analytical strategy works very well.

Chapter 6 examines advice and artefacts that the participants encounter during the course, and which they use in order to change their habits. In theoretical terms, the chapter proceeds from the idea that materialities affect our way of meeting the world and making meaning. This opens for an analysis of "physical artefacts and advice" as being significant in themselves. To enhance our understanding of the significance of the artefacts, the author adds the concept of fetish. It is thus possible to study the meanings that lie outside the concrete utility value of the artefacts, which gives a nuanced understanding of the participants' attempts to change their lifestyle.

Chapter 7 focuses on how the participants' bodies become significant in the efforts to change habits. The body is analysed both as an object and as a starting point for emotions, choices, experiences, reflections. A major point is that bodies are created in the tension between objectivity and subjectivity and that bodies thus stand out as both partners and opponents in the attempts to change lifestyle. In theoretical terms the author derives support from the conceptual pair of the absent and the present body and from the concept of reflexive bodily techniques. The latter concerns specific ways of moving, of using the body, ways which are learned and which we sometimes, but not always, think about.

In chapter 8 the attention is focused on the relation between individual and collective, between one's own experience and that of other people. The aim is to study the social practices of the course and how these affect changes, and to study the impact of individual experiences on the construction of a shared narrative about change and balance. In analytical terms the chapter is inspired by the concept of community of practice. Communities of practice are situated in everyday life and are thus both context-dependent and changeable. Through this concept it is possible to understand the participants' practices as an expression of a collective "educational process".

The dissertation deserves praise for the way it shows how the participants reflect on and utilize different methods, artefacts, and social relations in order to combine a healthy lifestyle with a well-balanced life which means that they do not make a complete break with everyday cultural norms and

habits. By regarding lifestyle changes as cultural, situated, and creative practice, the dissertation makes a contribution to research on men's health and lifestyle. But there are also things that could have been developed to give the study greater depth.

Balance stands out as a central concept in relation to one of the premises of the dissertation, namely, that life is uncertain, complex, and chaotic. The participants in the course are said to have had the goal of achieving balance. But it is uncertain whether balance is an analytical concept or a state that can be studied empirically. Judging by the analysis, the participants themselves do not seem to talk explicitly about balance as a goal, which means that the concept must be analytical in character. If it is an analytical concept, it remains unclear how the author defines and operationalizes the concept.

The dissertation continues the wave of research about materialities that we have seen for more than a decade. The significance of artefacts is in focus in chapter 6. Yet it is uncertain how the author deals with artefacts in relation to (oral and written) advice. Sometimes they seem to be treated as synonyms and sometimes they appear to be two essentially different elements. It would have been good to see a theoretical discussion of the difference between artefacts and advice.

The dissertation has a somewhat ambivalent attitude to masculinity and health/overweight. The author distances herself from the gender perspective, but there are earlier studies indicating that gender is important not least for understanding men's attitudes to health, the body, and also overweight. According to Schøler, there is no empirical evidence that gender has any significance. There is good reason here to problematize how the author analyses her material; does the material talk to her, or is the material analysed from theoretical perspectives? If it is the latter, it is not particularly hard to find examples of masculine patterns in the quotations. The study would probably have gained in depth if Schøler had chosen to position the dissertation in relation to a large research field examining men's and overweight men's health from a gender perspective.

Despite these criticism, this is a dissertation with interesting discussions and analyses of masculinity, health, and overweight. It makes a valuable contribution to knowledge in this field.

Fredrik Nilsson, Lund

Encounters with Sound Environments

Olle Stenbäck, Den ofrivilliga lyssnaren. Möten med butiksmusik. Göteborgs universitet, Göteborg 2016. 190 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss. ISBN 978-91-97535380.

■ Everyday life creates a variety of involuntarily listening for many of us. It can be the fan system in the office or school, the cars driving by outside our window, the old dishwasher in our kitchen, or the in-store music in the city. Many times we do not notice the sound, instead it is perceived as a background sound that blends into the place we are a part of. It is only when the fan stops or we close the window that we feel relief at how nice silence feels in our bodies. In Olle Stenbäck's dissertation *Den ofrivillige lyssnaren* ("The involuntary listener: Encounters with in-store music") this kind of involuntarily listening serves as the methodological input for how to understand and critically investigate what can be called sound environments and individual listening in a cultural context. Stenbäck thereby follows a growing ethnological interest in studying sound and sound environments as a methodological opening to different cultural processes. His study is interested in people's encounters with music in retail environments, through the following aim: "The aim of this dissertation is to explore potential customers' encounters with the phenomena of in-store music" (p. 10). Thus, he brings together the study of sound environments with theories of consumption, music ethnology and affects. The following three main questions are in focus: (1) How are people directed towards in-store music? (2) How do they listen to in-store music? (3) What kind of listening is made possible and/or prevented in the store?

The study is based on sixteen interviews, a digital ethnological questionnaire, articles from newspapers and traditional fieldwork. Stenbäck has an evolving discussion on how to capture such a fleeting phenomenon as in-store music. As he points out, people's visit to the store is often quick and, at the same time, an everyday phenomenon. In-store music is nothing one reflects upon, rather this is often the goal of in-store music. It is supposed to be a sound in the background that blends in with the surroundings. The ethnological method of fieldwork is therefore a good entrance for this type of study, to study when nothing special happens. What I wish Stenbäck did more was expose himself to situations that were a little bit more unfamiliar to him. He focuses mainly on Gothenburg and the environments which, as he writes, are "familiar to

me" (p. 35). What would happen with the analysis if he went to another smaller town? To a supermall in the suburb? Or why not another country and the in-store music there?

The dissertation has six main chapters in addition to an introduction and a conclusion. In chapter two – "Chasing the in-store music" – Stenbäck presents the central themes that the thesis deal with. It is theoretically quite heavy, with a focus on what the characteristics of today's shopping areas are. How can they be seen both as uniform – between different cities – but at the same time as places where people develop specific practices? The chapter has one important discussion for ethnology, about how people think, reflect upon and act in relation to this specific place. This discussion is also linked to what role in-store music has in shopping areas today, in relation to an historical perspective. A central factor is that the in-store music is not always something that is only in the background; instead it can be the one cultural element where the store is trying to create the feeling of a nightclub.

In chapter three – "Producer strategies" – the discourse of in-store music is analysed by the companies that have been producing this kind of music and the genres they create to sell the music. Of particular interest is the company Muzak – which has also become synonymous with in-store music – and how in the 1930s they started to market instrumental music to stimulate the working environment. This music is compared with furniture that is crucial for the room but blends into the background in order not to catch our attention. In this way it can be a substitute for an intrusive silence that can arise in a room or an elevator. The background music in this chapter becomes a way to discuss some of today's in-store music that is more to the forefront in the store.

In "Contemporary musical flows" – chapter four – Stenbäck analyses how the stores use, for example, DJs at weekends who come to the store and play their music, or streaming services. Thereby the stores also signal important popular cultural codes to the customers and communicate important cultural values. It should be new music played loud and the goal is that the customers are as interested in the clothes as in the music. It is not something that should only be in the background. New digital technology is also used to promote the music the store plays through music newsletters. The chapter illustrates and analyses in a very interesting way how we today look for new music in other ways than in the music store.

The chapter "Sensuous states" opens up an interesting cultural analysis of the complexities that arise in a city centre with a sound environment that has increasing and loud noises. One of the perspectives that Stenbäck discusses is obstacles that arise for people with hearing loss. Sensitive positions are used as a methodological term to highlight the auditory barriers that can be problematic and where people develop different strategies to handle their problems. In a more metaphorical way the auditory obstacles can be seen as what Simon Frith has called "volume as a barrier" (2003), a metaphor that helps us to see barriers as socially constructed in the environment. The chapter adds many important perspectives and connects ethnology to the field of critical disability studies. This is a field that is underdeveloped in the study and something that would be of great interest to elaborate in future studies.

In chapter six the discussion from chapter five is turned around, and in "mutual spaces" we meet a theoretical perspective on feelings of inclusion. How does a person create an affective alliance in the store and to the in-store music? The store is here seen as a shared space where social togetherness can be created in different ways. Stenbäck has an interesting discussion on how we can walk into a store and feel at home. How can this feeling be understood? But it is also a feeling that can easily be turned around and instead create an affective alien, when we do not recognize ourselves. When it is the wrong music, wrong clothes to buy and so forth.

The last empirical chapter is named "Potential customers" and focuses on the role the informants take on as consumers. A central aspect is what possibilities the customer feels that they have to affect their own role in this environment. The chapter thereby raises the question of power and if we are prepared to assume the role of consumers.

"In-store music correlates with so much more than what appears in a particular store" (p. 179), Stenbäck concludes in the last chapter. This is a central point that needs to be made stressing that we need more cultural studies on how sound environments and individual listening always take place in a cultural context. How can a sound environment create an affective alliance when is it turned around and becomes an affective alien instead? Stenbäck's dissertation opens up this field in many interesting ways.

Kristofer Hansson, Lund

Book Reviews

Disability Perspectives on Sound

Ljud tar plats. Funktionshinderperspektiv på ljudmiljöer. Åsa Alftberg, Elisabet Apelmo & Kristofer Hansson (eds.). Lund Studies in Arts and Cultural Sciences, 11, Lund 2016. 184 pp. ISBN 978-91-981458-6-1.

■ This edited volume from Sweden draws on Scandinavian disability studies and the discussion of the environment, difference and disability. Through different empirical studies, the authors explore sound and different types of hearing impairments, and discuss the role of sound and hearing in contemporary society. The overarching focus is on the ways in which the environment is part of the hearing impairment. As such, the volume is a classic Scandinavian study of functional impairment, but with a rather understudied type of impairment in focus.

One of the ambitions of the book is to study how sound environments can be changed in order to create participation and accessibility on equal terms for everyone, in line with the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.

In the introduction by the editors, the reader is introduced to the idea of sound environments as hegemonic and normative. Sound environments are always organized for those who are capable of hearing. In this regard, as hearing is a basic component of social interaction, people with hearing impairments easily experience exclusion. The question is, how good hearing one needs in order to participate in the existing hearing environments, and how hearing environments can be used to facilitate inclusion. Thereby, hearing impairment is not perceived as an individual problem, but in part as a social construction created through impairing sound environments and the people living in them.

In chapter 2, Åsa Alftberg studies this construction by exploring how people with cochlear implants (CI) live with them, the meanings they assign to them and the ways they participate in society. This participation is a problem for people with CI. Full citizenship in an ableist society requires fully functional bodies able to communicate on equal terms. But people with CI often find that sound is unpleasant noise after the implantation, and that it is made difficult through all the small arrangements they need to cope with. They are put in situations where they wish to turn off the CI, but feel it is morally problematic to do so, as the ability to hear is perceived as something inherently good by their peers. People with CI are equipped with the possibility to turn hearing on and off, but find that exercising this flexibility is not within the scope of being a good citizen.

In the same line of thought, in chapter 3 Ingela Holmström problematizes the ways in which technologies are and have been used to create participation, at present and during the twentieth century. Children with hearing impairments were excluded from ordinary schools until the 1970s and 1980s, but this changed, and with CI the boundaries between the deaf and the hearing have become contested, to the degree that children with hearing impairments today are expected to participate on equal terms. Through her fieldwork, Holmström shows how this expectation is impeded through the many difficulties in everyday life that the children experience, such as going to the pool or teachers controlling the technologies, thereby choosing when to hear on behalf of the children.

Robert Willim shifts focus from hearing impairments and CI to sound and sound environments as contested territory in chapter 4. Entering the world of sound through complaints about diffuse noise in Skåne, Willim asks how to control sound and problematizes standards and benchmarks of sound. While sound is experienced subjectively, it needs to be standardized in order to create benchmarks for acceptable sound levels. Through different cases, Willim shows how norms for sound are dynamic and historic, and how new technologies such as earphones and sound modulations reconfigure sound norms.

In chapter 5, Elisabet Apelmo provides a literature review about sound environments connected to leisure activities for deaf people and people with hearing impairments, and discusses some key concepts within the field. Central to this discussion is the social status and cultural identity of the D/deaf. While being deaf is a kind of disability, the Deaf perceive themselves as a linguistic minority. Formed as a political identity, the Deaf point to the organization of society as that which creates disability. While deaf children today mostly live in hearing families, in the first part of the twentieth century they were grouped in schools for the deaf,

thereby enabling this communal identity. With the propagation of new technologies such as CI, this identity becomes contested again. Key to the debate about D/deaf today is whether the focus on social integration eradicates the cultural identity of the Deaf. Moreover, while the "compensating" technologies, such as ICT, create new possibilities for the deaf, they also create new possibilities for social isolation, for example, through online shopping.

Per Germundsson and Berth Danermark resituate the discussion of sound environments in chapter 6 from people with hearing impairments to a specific environment, namely, open-plan offices and the consequences they have for people's health in general. While the authors focus on people with hearing impairments in open-plan offices, they also describe the general problems with this kind of working environments. Many people in the workforce have hearing impairments, and hearing aids do not work well in open-plan offices. Moreover, the ageing of the workforce means that more people with hearing impairments are working. The author places these problems within an understanding of dialogue as sequential, which means that meaning is constructed through a range of information. If part of the dialogue is not heard, the bigger picture is disturbed. Such problems with open space offices have health consequences, and the authors call for an increased focus on the subject and advocate evidence-based practice.

In Chapter 7, Kristofer Hansson uses the case of sports for children with CI to problematize the moral foundations of habilitation through sports activities. He asks what problems are solved through leisure activities for children with disabilities, why it is a problem not to exercise and for whom. By scrutinizing a press release about young people with disabilities exercising insufficiently, Hansson points to a disability-political paradox within habilitation: the problem is constructed twofold, both as an individual problem for the children and as a societal problem resting on the conditions for exercising. Through interviews with habilitation personnel, Hansson shows how the power and responsibility to exercise is complex.

The volume discusses difference and how majorities include and exclude minorities by focusing on a huge but often overlooked population group: people with hearing impairments. While many chapters focus on CI, other chapters broaden the discussion to the large groups of people with hearing impairments in general, as well as to the role of sound in contemporary society. The discussions are well communicated and serve as a good entry to key concepts within disability studies, and to some of the issues emerging from ethnological studies of health and disease.

However, the critique of the normative, hearing hegemony and the subsequent suggestions for change create new normativities that seem to attempt to dismantle difference. While the volume points to many interesting discussions about sound and hearing impairments, some reflections on the new normativities produced through this dismantling are missing. For example, what kind of normativity is produced if the construction of hearing as normal and deaf as deviant is reshuffled? Is the goal to make deafness normal, or what kind of difference is produced through increased participation? And can phonocentrism be transformed through inclusive architecture or other socio-material reconfigurations?

While the volume would have benefited from exploring such questions, it opens up a complex field in a comprehensive manner and positions sound, hearing and deafness as concerns in political debates about dis/ability and difference.

Aske Juul Lassen, Copenhagen

The Chief's Totem Pole

Anders Björklund, Hövdingens totempåle. Om konsten att utbyta gåvor. Carlsson Bokförlag/Etnografiska museet, Stockholm 2016. 220 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-73317-40-5.

■ In this book Anders Björklund, who was director of the Museum of Ethnography in Stockholm 2002–2013, tells the long and at times exciting story of the G'psgolox totem pole, which came to the museum in 1929 and which was returned as a gift to the Haisla people in 2006. The Haisla are a group among the indigenous North American population who together go under the name of the Northwest Coast Peoples. They are still a vigorous, thriving group, culturally uniform but politically and linguistically divided. Today they comprise about 150,000 people in two countries. Some of the Northwest Coast Indians have maintained their traditions and religion

particularly well, with spirit-seeking and shamanism, and have their language and social system intact. The arrival of the white man spread epidemics among the aboriginal population, as there was no resistance to the diseases brought by the missionaries. Smallpox claimed many lives. In places more than 75 per cent of the population died during the second half of the nineteenth century. The Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands were reduced to a fraction of their number, with far-reaching consequences. It was smallpox that struck G'psgolox's people, the Henaxiala, and was the reason why the totem pole was carved in 1872. The totem pole was carved in memory of how Chief G'psgolox obtained shamanistic powers.

In the many detailed chapters in this book, Björklund takes us through the entire case of the totem pole, giving us good insight into the history of how it was collected and the leading figures involved. There was such a strong desire to acquire a totem pole in Sweden that it is not particularly unlikely that irregularities were committed. As the author rightly points out, and as I have also stated in a work in 2001, it was in the heyday of evolutionism and positivism. It was seen (and perhaps desired by some people too) that these indigenous peoples were going to disappear as part of a natural development, and it was believed that the almost fanatical collecting of ethnographic material of all categories, including human remains, was a service performed for mankind by ensuring that these vanishing cultures would at least be preserved in museums. There should thus be no doubt that people with these convictions, the prevailing paradigm at the time, were prepared to go very far in their collecting zeal, despite the Canadian legislation that applied when the G'psgolox totem pole was exported to Sweden. Sigvald Linné, head of the Museum of Ethnography in Stockholm in the 1950s and 1960s, told Staffan Brunius, the curator of American artefacts in the 1980s, that he could expect some action from the Haisla people in the matter of the totem pole. This was because "the white people in power who had permitted the accession and export were real bastards" (p. 106). We may assume that Linné was well aware of the whole morally dubious accession history of the G'psgolox totem pole, perhaps more than he said openly in 1985.

After a careful search of the archives, the author is able to state that there is no receipt for the purchase in Sweden (p. 95). And the Haisla, during their many visits to Sweden, emphatically declared (also to me) that the totem pole had been taken without their approval when they were away fishing. It was quite simply stolen, as the author puts it (p. 72). Since this was the case according to the Haisla, they had every right to take it back. Perhaps we will never know exactly how it happened, but there is no doubt that, with the prevailing paradigm and with the white actors who were involved, the totem pole was removed partly or wholly against the will of the indigenous people.

The linguistic groups in certain places on the northwest coast of North America still have a world view based on the idea that time is constantly oscillating between bad and good times. They believe that the changes between these times come often, and it is important to perform certain acts during good times. In their mythology the sun is viewed in cosmogonic terms as the father while the earth is the mother. The sun is still regarded as the supreme being. The spirit Zoda is honoured on the totem pole for his goodness, both his healing powers and his protection of G'psgolox the chief and his people. This good force is highly valued by the Northwest Coast Peoples, not least of all after the many negative events since the first contact with the whites. Björklund provides a detailed account of this course of events for the Haisla, both past and present. In G'psgolox's totem pole, the goodness of Zoda today still stands for identity, politics, and the old beliefs about supernatural beings. Björklund demonstrates nicely how different groups of Haisla relate to this, letting us follow their internal debate and the conflicts on the matter. It is good that he presents the Haisla's own statements so that we can follow the arguments of both the traditionalists and the modernists. This is the emic perspective. The important point is that, as Björklund shows, there are several reasons for the attitudes to tradition on the northwest coast. A nuanced picture shows a combination of neotraditionalists, whose motives for preserving tradition can often be found in political and identity aspects of life, and real traditionalists, who despite all the far-reaching changes in their living conditions still maintain an unbroken cultural and religious tradition. There is a traditional belief with many manifestations, while simultaneously different segments of the communities relate in different ways to the traditional culture. We have a heterogeneous society

today where different views of tradition occur together. This is partly a question of different generations and their attitudes, but also of how the tradition is used for various purposes to do with politics and identity. It is a strength of the book that Björklund presents this clearly. The author has left no stone unturned in presenting everything concerning this issue in Sweden and Canada. His impressive collection of material and his meticulous research allow us to follow the case from start to finish.

After my many visits to almost all the Northwest peoples, it is my opinion that traditional thinking – in different shades – is still the most important thing for these people. And as Björklund rightly states, it was this traditional thinking that eventually triumphed in the demand for the return of the totem pole. According to the belief, Chief G'psgolox Dan Paul chose the religious path. These ideas, in my opinion, are the core of the whole issue and the real reason for the demand for the return of the totem pole. Through the final action with the pole, all in accordance with the tradition that everything should go back to nature, the old ideas were followed and became a reality in 2012 (n. 258; p. 70, n. 92). The totem pole was believed to have magical properties (p. 70). Tradition triumphed, and the Haisla chose, despite the possible reactions and consequences, to let it happen. Through this action, it is believed, Zoda is once again able to protect his territory. At Kitlope Lake, close to the place where the totem pole once stood, it is believed that the petrified man lives too, and that this being, together with Zoda will forever protect the Kitlope Valley, now that the totem pole is back.

These two beings are believed to have been in the area for a very long time, watching over it. In this connection Björklund writes (p. 97): "It can even be questioned whether it was 'owned' in any sense or if it was part of a completely different context of meaning with animistic links to totem animals and traditional hunting grounds and was thus owned by the Kitlope Valley – 'for we do not own the land so much as the land owns us'." Perhaps the figures carved in the log meant that it belonged to another register than what language encompasses, mediating between humans and nature (p. 73). This is the core of the whole demand for the return of the pole, that it is based on a still living belief. It is only through this emic perspective that we can understand. Björklund also lets us follow one of today's most famous Haisla artists, Lyle Wilson, and his arguments for the preservation of the totem pole. Wilson was one of the chief advocates of this, and all through the book we follow his appeal with its critique of the traditionalists' choice, which he argued was based on feelings as well as beliefs. "Some people have compared the G'psgolox pole to a tombstone and its presence has brought bad luck" (Wilson, quoted on p. 155). Wilson's reasons for preserving the pole and his critique of the idea of letting it go back to nature were quite different from the traditionalists' outlook. In his appeal, however, one can also read between the lines and see how strong the pre-Christian religion still is. In the case of the Haisla, the G'psgolox totem pole represents good, the living heritage going back to the time before the coming of the white man. The important thing here is that, even though different segments of the Haisla today view this in different ways, as identity, politics, or religion, with Zoda as a still living and acting supernatural being, they all agree that the repatriation of the totem pole is a victory for their own values, a triumph over colonial repression, over economic injustice, and so on. So regardless of how today's Haisla have viewed the matter, what was accomplished in 2006 has been of great significance for the overall situation of the indigenous population today.

In this book we are given a well-written, nicely illustrated account that considers history, museum practice, and also the problem of repatriation demands in an international perspective. The volume gives good insight into the history, from the time when the pole was added to the collection, to the first requests for return, the protracted negotiations, the government decision in 1994 to return the totem pole as a gift, all the twists and turns in the process, the actors involved, the debate in Sweden with arguments for and against repatriation. The great value of the book lies in its survey of all the events along the way and the emic arguments of the Haisla, including the different opinions within that group. The author has gone to great pains to include practically everything that was discussed in the case, especially at the Museum of Ethnography; the arguments, documents, letters, and articles written for the case are quoted here in meticulous detail. The book is thus an important document in museum history, relevant to the return of objects not just by Swedish museums but also

European museums which hold ethnographic material from indigenous peoples. The volume is a welcome contribution to Swedish museum history, as well as a good record of the problems indigenous people have gone through, and especially how the Northwest Coast Peoples were affected by the greedy collectors of Western society. Björklund's book is a valuable addition to the scant literature in Swedish about the indigenous people of the west coast of North America, which ought to inspire more research on this fascinating area.
Carl Johan Gurt, Stockholm

Fiction and Reality from Many Angles

Fiktion och verklighet. Mångvetenskapliga möten. Anna Bohlin & Lena Gemzöe (eds.). Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2016. 284 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7061-198-8.

■ In a dozen articles, the two editors and ten culture researchers explore the relationship between fiction and reality. Most of the authors are from Sweden, but this does not prevent them from analysing objects from other countries. In this way one could say that the collection of articles has an international value even though it is all in Swedish.

One of the editors, Anna Bohlin, begins the book by promptly observing: "A desire for reality is typical of our time." This may be the case, although the world is full of fantasy, girls' dreams of a big, lavish wedding, visions of becoming a celebrity, and systems that encourage competition to reach an imaginary summit or achieve eternal youth.

Many of the articles consist of literary analyses. It goes without saying that there is an essay about Karl Ove Knausgård's *Min kamp* (*My Struggle*). Annika Olsson examines how a reader can view and understand Knausgård's large opus. Although it gives the impression of being a description of reality, so faithful that it could be classed as an ethnographic account of Nordic society in the twenty-first century, it has obviously fictitious elements that erase the dividing line between fiction and reality, a problem that is often discussed by readers who love historical novels about real people. The readers' ability to identify with the text and recognize themselves and their own life situation in it is more interesting to think about than the question of what is the Truth. And readers' reactions are the central theme in Maria Karlsson's study of letters to Selma Lagerlöf from her admirers. Many of these letters show what the fans thought about Lagerlöf's books, how they had read them, and how they related to her as a person when reflecting on her works and drawing conclusions about who she was. Some of them actually found her so kind that they felt emboldened to beg money from her. The article also analyses female and male ways of reading Lagerlöf's work. Claudia Lindén gives us a meticulous analysis of Karen Blixen's novel *Gengældelsens veje* (*The Angelic Avengers*) as a work about Denmark under the Nazis. The novel was published in 1944 and has many features that really belong in the Gothic. The interpretation of the book as a fiction in which to clothe the fear of contemporary reality is convincing.

Popular culture is produced to a large extent out of fictitious ideas about what people want. Above all, it must be viewed as entertainment. In that statement one can read an implicit assumption that entertainment is of no importance. Elin Abrahamsson, however, shows that girls' culture for instance, also contains quite a lot that has a basis in reality. In the girl's room one can dream of the future, but there is also the possibility, after negotiation, to adapt to reality and put up resistance to both reality and fiction. Fanny Ambjörnsson and Ingeborg Svensson contribute a queer-feministic analysis of the television reality show *Paradise Hotel*. The authors have done participant observation, examining how viewers regard the series; they find that viewers do not accept what they see uncritically, but express a realistic distance to it in the camp sense of security that collective viewing gives.

One group of articles deals with pilgrimages. Lena Gemzöe has noticed an interaction between going on pilgrimages and literary descriptions of pilgrimages and observes that the sensation of the pilgrimage is determined to some extent by literary accounts of events, thoughts, and experiences of pilgrimage. Correspondingly, the literary descriptions lead the pilgrim, at least in certain respects, to expect and apprehend the journey as being a predetermined sequence of events. Fredrika Bremer is one of the earliest authors to describe experiences of pilgrimage in Swedish. Anna Bohlin devotes a study to Bremer's memoirs of a journey to Italy, Turkey, Greece, and Palestine in the mid nineteenth century.

Bohlin wants to see which kind of reality Fredrika Bremer ascribes significance to and how this happens. The relationship between the physical place, for example in Jerusalem, and Bremer's sacred geography becomes the central point in the article. The lesson is perhaps that we see how inconsistent Bremer is when she argues with herself about the meanings of the holy places. It is clear to the reader that sensory impressions and physical experiences make the journey into a pilgrimage.

Karin Becker and Geska Brečević have spent time in southern Mexico and have seen there how an artists' colony grew up in a village called Santa Ana, where the inhabitants took advantage of the opportunity to present their patron saint in different contexts. Santa Ana is not just the village's patron saint in a theological sense but also functions as a uniting factor in the village when artists and amateurs agree to build a chapel in her honour to develop the village through the use of history, partly in order to improve the economy. The figure of Santa Ana was rendered "modern" when it was animated, installed in an iPod which was then placed in a little reliquary, which was to be replaced through time with a chapel. Catholic folk piety and the local religion were blended to give a functional whole. The figure of Santa Ana combines many earlier layers of time which can be brought out in the observer's gaze. She occurs as a statue, as a newly made doll, and later as a digitized figure, and people tell local stories about her. A similar process is described by Ing-Marie Back Danielsson, who considers the Viking Age female figure called Estrid. Estrid is a skeleton found by archaeologists at Broby bridge in Täby, in the Stockholm region, an area long known for its many runic stones. The skeleton was reconstructed and given a human-like appearance as both a young and an old woman, and the name Estrid was bestowed on her. The reconstruction of the young woman was placed in a museum while the old Estrid found her place outside the local museum, in the library, and she was given a biography as a powerful Christian woman and mother during the period that historians call the Viking Age, which has mythical associations in popular consciousness. Thanks to the biography, she enjoyed a life long after her own time, as a figure on the museum's website and as the title of a citizens' newspaper. Danielsson very successfully demonstrates how an archaeological find takes on completely different meanings than those usually associated with a skeleton, because of the discourses prevailing in today's Swedish society.

Music films as a way of creating a home district are the object of Ingemar Grandin's interest. He performs a highly systematic analysis of thirty Nepalese music films and shows how they are enhanced to correspond to a fictitious ideal image of a Nepal that is outside time. He draws good parallels to Swedish local history research and Artur Hazelius' ideas about Skansen and what that open-air museum would represent. The concept of nationalism is central to Grandin's way of viewing his material. Nostalgia and imagined memories of a homeland long-since vanished but still familiar to "everyone" are the ingredients in the Nepalese music films.

The book *Fiction and Reality* opens and closes with long chapters by Anna Bohlin and Lena Gemzöe respectively, providing a more general view of the idea behind the book and the articles. The work is informative and inspiring for scholars in the disciplines represented: archaeology, gender studies, culture studies, literature, media studies, and anthropology. I found it interesting to learn that scholars of literature are rarely concerned with readers and their reactions and attitudes to what they have read. It is surprising that this is possible in a time when people are placed at the centre in virtually every respect. I was also struck by the statement that some of the articles formulate a methodological approach that places religion in cultural research – as if this were something out of the ordinary. Religion is in fact a form of cultural expression, as scholars of religion have demonstrated for several decades. Moreover, the Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore has a vigorous section called Ethnology of Religion, founded by the Swedish ethnologist Nils-Arvid Bringéus. It has been active for almost 25 years, and even before that there were countless studies of folk religiosity.

When a book is interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary, methodology is put to the test. In this collection of articles each author has his or her own way of illuminating the material from different methodological angles. It is rewarding to see how people in different disciplines go about obtaining results. Given that the readers presumably also represent different disciplines, some of the authors could well have presented their methods in more detail to assist people in neighbouring disciplines who might

perhaps like to experiment with ingredients from a new research field. To sum up, I can say that the book is a good example of cultural scholarship in a broad sense, as it includes articles based on varied material, varied questions, and alternating methods.
Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo (Turku)

The History of Night

Gunnar Broberg, Nattens historia. Nordiskt mörker och ljus under tusen år. Natur och Kultur, Stockholm 2016. 432 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-27144-14-9.

■ I remember once reading that darkness was an essential precondition for successful riots, since it concealed the rioters and enabled them to escape quickly into invisibility. The French Revolution, according to this way of thinking, could not have taken place without darkness. Here darkness was something positive, although otherwise it has usually had negative connotations. In the folk imagination, as expressed in the material preserved in the folklore archives, darkness is always linked to evil and destructive forces.

Darkness has always provided cover for hidden (= evil, forbidden, sinful) things to happen. The darkness is to be cursed. We talk about the darkness of the Middle Ages, the Prince of Darkness, and so on. In the decadent Berlin of the 1920s, darkness, in the sense of the sinful night time, was what attracted people to forbidden pleasures that could not stand the light of day. But night was also the time or the state when sharp daylight was replaced by a soft, embellishing darkness that did not expose flaws as cruelly as daylight did. At night all cats were grey, and even the most obscure and shady activities found greater acceptance than in daylight.

The negative discourse of darkness includes, for example, the punitive function. In the women's prison in Norrmalm, which I recently studied, disobedient and insubordinate women were punished at the end of the nineteenth century by being confined in a dark cell. Most of the women were from the countryside, where electrification was still limited, so they ought to have been well used to darkness. Was the point of the punishment really the darkness of the cell? Or was the dark cell perhaps also a symbolic expression of the unenlightened, unmodern society where the prisoners were thought to belong, whereas the light outside was the modern world where the prison staff were placed and where law-abiding citizens lived? The punishment did not just send the prisoners into a dark cell, but also back to a different, bygone time. They were therefore not punished (solely) with darkness itself, but by being symbolically denied access to the light of modern society. The latter was no doubt the worst thing. In any case, the punishment appears to have had no effect; the women did not become less insubordinate.

Darkness is intimately associated with night. Night and darkness have been interpreted and understood in different ways throughout history, and this is in focus in the latest book by the historian of ideas Gunnar Broberg, the title of which means "The History of Night". It is a large, heavy book with over 400 pages, which might perhaps have benefited from being abridged somewhat to make it more inviting to handle. The author states that this is not a book about the major events but about the small changes that are not always so visible. He also writes: "The humanities are perhaps the true science of night because they are about the obscurity of the human mind and the insights of darkness." The book thus begs to be read!

The title reveals that this is a book about Nordic darkness and light over a thousand years. Somehow the "thousand-year perspective" seems obsolete and rather off-putting. It reminds me of the scholarly ideals of bygone times, where a historical survey from past to present was often more important than the author's logical reasoning. Do I want a thousand-year perspective? Do I want to be able to follow night from the Middle Ages to the present day? No, I don't. I would rather see the author examine in depth some interesting aspects, problems, or perspectives than provide a long historical survey. And in fact Broberg does not strictly give us a thousand-year history; he selects specific eras and phenomena from the Middle Ages via the Enlightenment and the romantic period up to modern-day lighting, considering these in some depth.

Since Broberg is extremely knowledgeable and motivated by a desire to share his huge learning, the book is not just a survey of different aspects of night, darkness, and light but also a series of history lessons in a broader context. The author takes his many examples from very disparate places. A rather entertaining example he cites is the practice of night courtship or "bundling" (*nattfrieri*). It was a custom in peasant society that young men went visiting girls

when they were sleeping in the outhouses in summer. There the boy could get into bed with the girl he visited, but he was not allowed to touch her or take off his clothes. In this way the young people could sound each other out before they proceeded to courtship and marriage. This bed-sharing was innocent in character, but still the church raged against it because the clergy could not control the custom and did not approve of "folk households" of this kind.

Broberg takes a completely different example of the attraction of night from romantic musicians and poets such as Frédéric Chopin and Erik Johan Stagnelius, many of whose works have night as their theme. And certainly, the romantic period was the era of night at its darkest. It was also the age of vampires, who prefer to operate at night. On the way into the modern age, these beings were driven away by electrification and enlightenment (at least) in our parts of the world, and the significance of night partly changed with the coming of light. But vampires and other nocturnal beings do not disappear. They adapt and survive, albeit in new conditions.

Is it perhaps the case that we are more afraid of the dark now when the world is lit up? Was fear of the dark impossible in the past when the world was dark at night, when the whole winter was coal-black in some places? In that dark society people had to accept that many jobs could not be done after nightfall. At the same time, we may be surprised that people could nevertheless do so much with such bad lighting: sew, write, and read, for example. People had no choice but to get used to darkness. An example of this is the phenomenon of *kura skymning*, sitting out the dusk; instead of lighting candles or lamps as soon as it began to grow dark, people sat in the gathering darkness, accustomed their eyes to it, and let the body relax. My grandmother did this in her kitchen all her life. We often had our most intimate conversations then, as darkness laid its conciliatory and forgiving veil over the world and over us. Still today I think I try to economize on light when darkness falls. I very rarely, if ever, switch on the ceiling light.

Broberg's book ends in the contemporary flow of electric light. Much of the world is light around the clock. Not everyone sleeps at night. The time when work had to stop when darkness fell is a thing of the distant past. Nor do we need to save candles any more; since electrification came they have taken on a new symbolic value, creating an atmosphere rather than being a true source of light. Candles are mass-produced consumables which can be bought at low prices. We throw away candle stumps because they are of no value to us. That would have been unreasonable wastefulness in former times. Yet the world has been lighter at night than it is today. During the oil crisis of the 1970s, a lot of street lighting was switched off to save energy. Only some of it has been lit once again. Now I am used to it, but I remember the difference when my street became dark, really dark. The darkest place in my contemporary experience, however, is the cemetery on All Saints' Day. Dark as a bag, because that was the evening when all the beautiful lanterns and candles were to be lit. I had serious problems sticking to the paths. Everything was black, and the many lighted candles did not help much. It took some time before my eyes were accustomed and I was able to find my bearings. Would it have been equally hard for me two hundred years ago?

These are some of the thoughts aroused in me by *Nattens historia*. It is hard, however, to do justice to Broberg's book in a short review, since the content is so multifaceted and varied. The book is also of a kind that must be read more than once to be properly appreciated. Quite simply, it takes time to enter into it, since the many examples of the significance of darkness require constant reflection by the reader. But it also provides reading for a long, long winter. A slight criticism is that the beautiful colour illustrations are grouped together at two places in the book. I would have preferred to see them beside the text where they belong.

Agneta Lilja, Huddinge

Norwegian Outdoor Life

Arne Lie Christensen, Ut i det fri. Livet på setra, hytta og landstedet. Pax forlag, Oslo 2015. 320 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-530-3795.

■ Norwegians' relation to nature has for many years been essential in the conception of Norwegian identity, both for Norwegians themselves and for foreigners. This book gives a cultural-historical background to the development of this relation.

An integral element in this relation is the second home that many have. This relation is a point of departure in the book. The author unfolds this theme in

the preface. He tells about his own second home and how his values for the use of it have changed, corresponding to technological changes.

In the next chapters the author explains life in the second home in a broad cultural-historical context, relating it to the development of outdoor life in general and to local inhabitants in the areas that these urban people visit – and to nature as well.

Next is a text on the social and cultural construction of the *sæter* (summer farm) household and the social organization of fishing in Lofoten. The tourists often looked on life at the *sæter* as idyllic, when in reality it was very heavy. This part is interesting, but could in my opinion have been shorter with an emphasis on the relation to urban outdoor life when it just was urban people who were interested in this. However, the author also focuses on the relations between the local people and the holiday visitors.

In the next chapter the author writes on second homes in the nineteenth century.

As a special Norwegian national symbol the author highlights the *peis* that was formerly a universal fireplace in peasants' houses. Before the end of the nineteenth century it was replaced by iron stoves, but around the turn of the century this *peis*, ideally made of soapstone, became a symbol of national romanticism. In the opinion of the author this is a part of the Norwegian *hygge*, so it is a symbol of authenticity. I should add that the fire in the stove obviously gives a social focus for the social group in the room. A part of this symbolic value is that the *peis* was formerly the place for cooking, in addition to providing some light.

The next chapter is about urban outdoor life in recent times. The contrast to life and work in the city is an essential key.

The finishing chapter highlights the role of doing something in the second home with one's own hands. As an excellent example the author has a picture of himself at a wooden Chinese bridge that he himself has made. He stresses that his own work is essential and a part of his identification with this second home. The history of the house is essential too: it was once the home of a fisher peasant. When returning to this second home the author is returning to an authentic, frugal, pre-modern life for a limited time.

Ole Rud Nielsen, Åbo (Turku)

A Perfectly Ordinary Person?

Palle Ove Christiansen, Den legende borgermand. En embedsmands oplevelser i billeder, fotos og ord 1865–1948. Forlaget Vandkunsten, København 2016. 157 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-7695-413-0.

■ A perfectly ordinary person. The kind of person who is a part of history in a collective, but as an individual rarely leaves enough of an impression to end up in a researcher's focus. Or perhaps there should be a question mark after the phrase "a perfectly ordinary person"? For even though that is how I started reading the latest book by the Danish cultural historian Palle Ove Christiansen, "The Bourgeois Man at Play: A Public Servant's Experiences in Pictures, Photos and Words, 1865–1948", I soon start wondering about the adjective "ordinary". What *is* an ordinary person, and what can his or her life story tell us about how existence was shaped by the individuals who lived their lives together but also how they shaped their living conditions on the basis of the circumstances surrounding them? This also puts the concept of "everyday life" in the centre, and with that as a guiding star we follow the author's grandfather, a cashier at Det Kongelige Assistenshus (The Royal Pawn), Georg Alexander Christiansen, through all the things that make up everyday life, but also the things that he found enjoyable and made life worth living.

The scene in this book is, above all, bourgeois Copenhagen. Georg Alexander was born in a relatively well-off family, but his father was defrauded and the family economy suffered. Despite this, Georg Alexander's life did not change noticeably; with the aid of good friends he was able to lead a fairly free life. He began early on to keep a diary, to draw and paint. Through nine chapters we follow Georg Alexander Christiansen through his life, starting with his youthful existence in Copenhagen in the 1880s, to married life with the serious Vilhelmine, family life and the 47 years as an employee at the Royal Pawn, and finally the last phase of his life. In other words, this is an account of a life from the carefree youthful years to the duties of a public official and a family breadwinner. The book about Georg Alexander Christiansen follows a classical life-course theme, where the focus is also on significant events in his life. His life took a specific direction with his marriage to Vilhelmine, an intelligent and highly religious woman who ran the household

with an iron hand, and his decision to remain passive in a relationship that would define his life.

Through the diaries Georg Alexander left behind, the author is able to paint a vivid picture of his grandfather. But the diaries are not the only traces of Georg Alexander's life. He had the soul of an artist, who found an outlet for his creativity, not in his career but in leisure time when he painted, took photographs, and wrote in his diaries, which became more like scrapbooks. These, together with the picture that the family history paints of him and his family, constitute the foundation for what we know about the life of a perfectly ordinary person – Georg Alexander – and the dreams and experiences it consists of.

Christiansen takes his readers to a Copenhagen that no longer exists. We are given a rare glimpse of the life of a Copenhagen official. The style in which the author explains things, with no interest in telling us "what it was really like", makes it possible for the reader to experience the complex existence that is a human life. It is seldom possible for a researcher to get so close to people from a bygone time. The rich material left by Georg Alexander is of course a crucial factor in this.

Georg Alexander did not distinguish himself in any way. Not in public circles, not in career terms, and not socially or even within his own circles of acquaintances. He was a responsible public servant, took care of his family, and was like most other people in many ways. At the same time, with the help of the picture that Christiansen paints of his grandfather, he stands out as unique in many ways. He devoted his spare time not just to his diaries but also to amateur painting and later amateur photography. Since his early youth he had collected lots of things: postcards, letters, napkins from restaurants and variety theatres, place cards, tickets, labels, cuttings, programmes, dried flowers from excursions, and much besides. Some of these ended up as illustrations in the diaries, but mostly he just collected them. Georg Alexander seldom records difficulties, problems, or setbacks in the diaries. Nor does he describe the major historical events that happened during his life. Perhaps the diaries and his painting and photography were a kind of escape from reality, a haven he sought when he felt that his life was cramped, and where he created a universe of his own, to suit him and his needs. And this is where Christiansen skilfully captures this "ordinariness" and turns it so that it is not so much about everyday existence and more about what goes on inside a person. Christiansen's book thus becomes a journey into a man from the petty bourgeoisie, who expresses himself in his collecting, his painting, and his diaries. These everyday thoughts, experiences, and dreams are the kind of things that usually disappear when a person does. This is where Georg Alexander ceases to be one of these "ordinary" people, and it is precisely through the rich material preserved after his death that he is unique – as all people really are and become, in cases where it is possible to study them in the same way that Christiansen has been able to gain access to his grandfather's innermost self.

The book clearly shows us Palle Ove Christiansen's ethnological gaze. He combines different types of written sources with pictures and with the handed-down stories about a family and a man he never really got to know. Here Christiansen himself draws attention to the dangers of being too close to the person you are writing about. Does his relationship to Georg Alexander blur his researcher's gaze? Or is this a risk that comes with all research centred on individuals? Perhaps this close kinship can even be an advantage for Christiansen. His knowledge of the family history, in combination with the extensive source material, perhaps opens doors that would otherwise be closed. At the same time, Christiansen is a skilful writer who guides the reader with a sure hand through the chapters of the book. Sometimes I feel that I too, as a reader, have come close to this Georg Alexander, that I have developed a relationship with him and in a way "got to know" what makes him a person. This is not without problems, of course. It is clear that Georg Alexander had a rich inner life, where he found the strength to cope with everyday life with a dominant wife and a monotonous job. But the question is, how willing would he have been to share all this with strangers? This is an important issue that I would have liked to see more discussion of.

It is well worth mentioning the treasury of pictures in the book. The illustrations are of good quality, enabling a detailed study of Georg Alexander's diary entries and his drawings. It is easy to imagine that a great many pictures have *not* been included – a whole life with pen in hand, constantly taking notes, drawing and painting, must have generated a wealth of pictures. Together with the pictures, the

diary notes, constitute Georg Alexander's life. The cover of the book shows a photograph of a middle-aged Georg Alexander, sitting with his dog and an easel. He is smiling and looking straight into the camera. The inside covers, on the other hand, are marbled in blue and brown shades to resemble the notebooks that Georg Alexander himself used.

Palle Ove Christiansen's book is a fine example of good ethnological research based on fascinating historical material. Georg Alexander Christiansen steps out of the shadows in an engaging way through Christiansen's vivid language, both as an individual and as part of a collective.

Marie Steinrud, Stockholm

A Cultural History of the Polar Bear

Michael Engelhard, Ice Bear: The Cultural History of an Arctic Icon. University of Washington Press, Seattle 2016. 304 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-0295999227.

■ Part of the international image of Sweden for a long time included the idea not just that women were tall and blonde but also that wild polar bears roamed the streets of Stockholm. Of course, there were no polar bears in the streets of Stockholm, an odd cliché, one might think, but it was taken seriously in countries like the USA. More than anything else, it is evidence of a stereotyped analysis of the world. On the other hand, there have been, and still are, polar bears in captivity even in Scandinavia. In AD 894 King Harald of Norway received two young polar bears as a gift from a Norse settler in Iceland. Haakon IV of Norway sent a polar bear to the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, who sent it on to Sultan El-Kamil of Damascus in 1234. In the 1250s King Haakon IV also sent a polar bear to Henry III of England. The first polar bears came to Sweden in the seventeenth century (see my article in *Svenska Linnésällskapets Årsskrift* 2016). The best-known of them is the polar bear that the young Tsar Peter gave in April 1685 to Karl XI, and which was kept chained on Helgeandsholmen, where it was able to dive into the waters of Stockholm and catch its own fish. The polar bear came from Novaya Zemlya and was portrayed by David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl.

For much of the twentieth century the Skansen zoo had polar bears, which regularly had young. The cute polar bear cubs were one of the most popular postcard motifs from Skansen in their day. When changes were made to the way animals were kept a few decades ago, Skansen sold its polar bears, to the great dismay of many. Yet the bear park Orsa Grönklitt still has polar bears. The most famous polar bear in captivity in its day, however, was little Knut in Berlin Zoo, which became the public favourite and a commercial success in 2006. There were even songs about it, such as "Knut is cute".

In our time it is perhaps not primarily the polar bear as something to see in a zoo that makes it such a palpable part of our consciousness. Instead it is the worrying signs of climate change, with the polar ice cap rapidly shrinking, which have made the polar bear, more than any other species, into what we could call, with a typical modern cliché, an Arctic icon. We have seen film clips of polar bears sliding around on melting ice floes. At the same time, the modern tourist industry makes it possible for us to go on trips to Svalbard and Greenland in the hope of seeing polar bears. Interestingly, despite the fact that Greenland is a part of the Nordic community, *nanook*, the Greenlandic name for the polar bear, is probably the only word from Greenlandic/Kalaallisut that can be expected to have spread to the other Nordic countries. There is no doubt, however, that the polar bear is a charismatic species with a powerful cultural charge for people, both in its own immediate environment and in the world as a whole.

The polar bear is a predator that leads a nomadic life in the Arctic Ocean and on the tundra. The species is actually the only predator that views humans primarily as prey. People in the Arctic have therefore viewed it as both divine and an enemy, but also as a food resource, and in recent years as a strong symbol of the ecological crisis in which we find ourselves. For thousands of years mankind has interacted with the polar bear, as is manifested, for instance, in preserved artefacts. The author of this book, Michael Engelhard, has a degree in anthropology from the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, but he works as a wilderness guide and has taken an interest in the place of the polar bear in human cultural history. The result is a rich volume, illustrated with 170 pictures, 145 of them in colour.

In Engelhard's book we are given a broad survey of the polar bear, predominantly consisting of cultural zoology. The author traces human interaction with polar bears 10,000 years back in time, when finds from the De Long Islands off the coast of Siberia are evidence of meetings with local hunters who

killed females in particular. The famous Knut is treated in a separate chapter called "The Life and Death of a Superstar", which shows that the attention he attracted also led to conflicts with organizations like PETA. But the public won. They adored Knut (as I was able to see for myself on a visit to Berlin). People still leave flowers in memory of Knut at a bronze plaque erected as a memorial in the zoo. Like another Jim Morrison, Knut suffered a tragic and premature death, which nevertheless made him immortal. He was losing the cuteness factor the older he grew.

Through early data from Japan, via Norse sources to early modern travel accounts and maps, the author illustrates dramatic and peaceful meetings with polar bears through the ages. One chapter is dedicated to the place of the polar bear in the history of zoological science. Interestingly, it was not Linnaeus who gave the polar bear its scientific name. Linnaeus knew of Friedrich Martin's description of it from 1675, but since he never saw a polar bear himself, he regarded it as a white variety of the ordinary brown bear. Instead it was the English explorer Constantine Phipps, 2nd Baron Mulgrave, who in his account in 1774 of an Arctic journey left us the first valid description of the polar bear and gave it its scientific name.

Polar bear hunting is given a chapter of its own. It reminds me of when I was in Nanortalik (a town with three polar bears in its coat of arms) over 15 years ago and interviewed an old east Greenland hunter, who was legendary in his community for having shot a very large number of polar bears in his youth, but who now, in his autumn years, passed the time with something as peaceful as doing exquisite beadwork and knitting sweaters for his grandchildren! In Sweden too, the romance of polar bear hunting has left its mark in stories and songs. From my youth I remember Tor Bergner of the Klara Bohemians singing a song about polar bear hunters in Hammerfest.

There is a particularly fascinating chapter about polar bears in zoos and circuses. Even Sweden had polar bears in circuses in the 1950s. In the nineteenth century there were polar bears in travelling menageries. The many polar bears around 1900 at the fairground Stockholms Tivoli, the present-day Soliden, were taken over in 1906 by Skansen and laid the foundation for large-scale breeding of the species. Skansen kept polar bears until 1984. Snövit (Snow White), born in 1938 at Skansen, was a polar bear cub that aroused almost the same interest among the public and was cherished by the press in the same way as Knut.

The role of the polar bear in cult and beliefs among the Inuit and other circumpolar peoples is the subject of a chapter. The author also considers the erotic charge of polar bear skins, not least in art. We may remind ourselves that the Swedish national poet Verner von Heidenstam is said to have seduced his much younger wife-to-be, Greta Sjöberg, on a polar bear rug when she was still a teenager.

The illustrations in Engelhard's book are exquisite, full of exciting angles and almost all of interest as cultural history. Special praise should go to the cover picture of Adolf Nordholm's "At the North Pole – polka for violin and piano" from 1897, with a fantastic scene of dancing Inuit and polar bears playing instruments. There are plenty of photographs of wild polar bears elsewhere, so I appreciate the way the author has taken pains to find captivating illustrations. The result is an engrossing, wide-ranging presentation of the cultural zoology of what is, after all, an Arctic icon. To give an understanding of mankind's close relationship to other species we need more books of this kind. Cultural zoology is a genre that advances our knowledge of mankind's complex relations to other species.

Ingvar Svanberg, Uppsala

Sensitive Objects, Fleeting Atmospheres

Sensitive Objects. Affect and Material Culture. Jonas Frykman & Maja Povrzanović Frykman (eds.). Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2016. 285 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-87675-66-9.

■ The primary question posed by this edited volume, *Sensitive Objects: Affect and Material Culture*, concerns objects becoming "sensitive", the moment when they become affecting, loaded with affective value or feelings of various kinds. In the volume there are several examples of objects or things (not necessarily meaning the same) which become sensitive. One such text is Orvar Löfgren's inventive essay on how baggage, especially when women pack suitcases in movies, start to vibrate with a content which make both the pictures of them and the baggage sensitive, loaded with something quite special

which becomes deeply moving to the viewer. Another example is from Jonas Frykman's essay "Done By Inheritance", which can be read as a Proustian display of how questions of inheritance might be handled in conjunction with the dispersion of a home, a detached house or a flat and the contents of this property being split up, for example, after the death of the heirs' parents. Frykman shows, in a way which is akin to Löfgren's method, how certain things are loaded with an especially strong affective value and can start to function as symbols, perhaps even as some kind of "memory icons" of the type the Polish cultural historian Krzysztof Pomian has named semiophor. Using as research material these kinds of breakups in the mundane world, Frykman is able to show how strong feelings of various kinds are put in motion in conjunction with a question of inheritance, problems which may serve as both foci for storytelling and entries into past worlds. In certain cases such inheritance disputes can lead to siblings becoming into foes who never again want to see each other or talk to each other.

What makes this book so fascinating is that the question of the sensitivity of the objects and their possibilities to influence and communicate is allied to some other questions with both an ontological and an epistemological bearing. The volume can be looked upon as an attempt, if not to answer the questions involved in an exhaustive way then at least to bring the questions into a current ethnological research practice, one which up till now has been dominated by a more textual, more discursive or intersectional and above all more constructivist perspective on the research methods and practices in this field. To see that this is indeed the case one need not look further than to some of the edited volumes produced in Swedish within the ethnological research field in this millennium with an ambition to answer questions of epistemology and in certain cases also ontology, such as Gösta Arvastson & Billy Ehn's *Etnologiska observationer* (2009), Lena Gemzöe's *Nutida etnografi: Reflektioner från mediekonsumtionens fält* (2004) or Barbro Blehr's *Kritisk etnologi: Artiklar till Åke Daun* (2001). But in *Etnologiska observationer,* for instance, one can note that it is possible to combine a discourse-theory perspective with what could be called a more phenomenological or performative approach, as in Anna Sofia Lundgren's essay "Störning på Holland Park Avenue" (Disturbance on Holland Park Avenue) which points towards contradictions in what she calls systematic observations – characterized by observations of events and persons and attempts to describe these – which easily take on rhetorical, metaphorical meanings. Lundgren notes that her approach has its basis in discourse theory, discourses being understood as materialized, as practices, with the addition that there is a turn taking place towards the observing subject, a turn which also problematizes the same subject. And what will be understood as causes of things happening are, in her view, against a discursive thinking, individuals, not structures or norms. A similar turn dominates the *Sensible Objects* volume, which makes it quite important above all as an example of how ethnological research could start to renew both its theoretical apparatus of concepts and its way of studying the world, and indirectly not only the research objects but also the observing and written ethnographer.

Perhaps the most pressing question the volume poses – and tries to answer – is the one about how an existentialist-phenomenological approach grounded in Heideggerian categories such as *Dasein*, *vorhanden*, *zuhanden*, *Befindlichkeit*, or in Kierkegaard's discussion about *Angst* and anxiety, presented and analysed in an excellent way by Nils Gilje in the book – could be used in mundane ethnographical research with a credible methodological approach. The fact that Jonas Frykman, who obviously has functioned as *primus inter pares* in the work on the volume – his earlier cooperation with Nils Gilje, in e.g. the volume *Being There* (2003) is an important point of reference, as is Frykman's own neo-phenomenological offering in the book *Berörd* (2012) with its subtitle *Plats, kropp och ting i fenomenologisk kulturanalys* (Place, body and thing in phenomenological cultural analysis) – so decisively connects material culture with affect, makes this a book of great interest and importance.

But the volume is perhaps even more interesting because the sensitive objects and the affects are positioned in a triangular field. The third side of the triangle is something which cannot directly be considered an object – if so it is a highly fleeting one – but not as an actual subject either, but more something in between, a kind of fleeting "ether" or indeed atmosphere, which is the sector where the affects emerge most clearly and the material aspect of the field evaporates and becomes, if not immaterial, then markedly intersubjective.

So, what is atmosphere if one reads this volume? There are many entries to the concept in the index to the book, roughly the same amount as there are to another other central concepts in the volume: object. It seems as though atmospheres possess a rather dualistic nature: they have both a subjective and a collective and not least intersubjective side. In my reading the questions concerning atmosphere are the book's most important contribution when it comes to scientific advances. Frykman's own contribution in the essay on inheritance troubles is at the frontline here. But there are still questions to be answered in Frykman's text as well, and they concern the fleeting, quixotic nature of atmosphere, its moving positions, something which makes it epistemologically part of a kind of postmodern world in which the moving, fleeting aspects have priority over the static one, *stasis*. But the question concerning its character remains to be answered: if the atmospheric obviously is neither an interior nor an exterior quality of the objects in question, then what is it exactly, this element operating in the interstices between several different categories? The problem with Frykman's conception of atmosphere is that it is at the same time very vague – he sometimes equates it with ambience – as in much late modern or postmodern music, not least soundtracks, incidentally – and at other times closely binds it to affects, preferring to speak of affective atmospheres, as if this duo would always operate together. But this kind of conceptualization does not take into account that atmosphere might well operate without a clear affect attached to it or vice versa, the affect carrying the atmosphere. In a special issue on atmospheres in the journal *Emotion, Space and Society*, the editors, the Danish researchers Mikkel Bille, Peter Bjerregaard & Tim Flohr Sørensen, try to move behind this dualistic model of atmosphere into one which is staged and manipulated in different ways and researched even in historical contexts, then the complexity and ambiguity of the concept of atmosphere will gain strength and to my mind give it an even more pressing significance than it has in *Sensitive Objects*.

The question of atmosphere is also related to another issue which does not get a wholly satisfying answer in this volume, the subject-object relation (the one which Lundgren was also interested in), a question which a radical phenomenological research approach must be able to give credible answers to. The question of the pre-subjective and the pre-discursive is linked to this and opens the field to the philosophical work being done in many different corners of the world today concerning realism versus idealism, materialism versus immaterialism, Kant versus Heidegger, and also questions of how phenomenology has been interpreted by thinkers such as Deleuze, Levinas and Derrida. By underlining the importance of the object in phenomenology, questions about subjects and subjectivities, either collective or individual ones, will have to be addressed, for instance questions of how such collectivities emerge, function and are maintained.

Methodologically a couple of the essays in the volume stand somewhat apart from the rest. One such text is Orvar Löfgren's research on what he calls "Emotional Baggage", to be more specific the importance of suitcases and baggage in film, especially Hollywood movies, an investigation based to a considerable extent on film, but not entirely since the study also combines the movie analyses with history and field observations and therefore might be considered a methodological *bricolage* in line with ethnographical analysis called *non-representational theory*, a field which cannot be equated with the kind of existentially accentuated phenomenology that Frykman represents.

Another essay which might feel a little bit peripheral but at the same time is very interesting is Nils Gilje's "Moods and Emotions: Some Philosophical Reflections on the Affective Turn". The peripheral nature of the piece in this case has to do with the strong emphasis on a history-of-ideas type of text which from an ethnographical point of view might be seen as an outsider in this respect, but it is executed with a penetrating inquiry into the works of Spinoza, Heidegger, Sartre and not least Kierkegaard as to what today might be called a new branch of doing ethnographic work, in an existentialist-phenomenological or neo-phenomenological way. Perhaps Kierkegaard's discussion of the problem of anxiety will in the end be the one which is most useful of the philosophers Gilje discusses as regards further research within his tradition in ethnology and cultural analysis. The fact that the negative affects seem to carry greater weight has been shown in the overall picture of affects provided for by Silvan Tomkins, one of the pioneers in this affective turn. Of the nine affects Tomkins has listed, two are positive (joy, interest), one is neutral (surprise), but six are negative (anger, disgust, dissmell, dis-

tress, fear, shame). As the observant reader will note, neither anxiety nor angst is listed among Tomkins' categories of affect. The step from affects to what the cultural historian Karin Johannisson describes in her book *Melankoliska rum* (2013), what could be called affective syndromes, is another story well worth pursuing further. Johannisson describes a range of phobias which in an overwrought way point towards threatening images of the life world we experience. It might be, she concludes, that agoraphobia, claustrophobia and vertigo, based on a traditional conception of space and attuned to the lucidity of planes, might be replaced by conceptions which relate to a new physical space, new technologies and virtual realities.

In the introduction to the volume, entitled "Affect and Material Culture: Perspectives and Strategies", Jonas Frykman & Maja Povrzanović Frykman note that the writers of the book are interested in practices and lived experiences which are always historically embedded. From this they conclude that objects are not to be understood with an independent affective charge. It is the practices, praxis, when people use objects or become inspired by environments, which they research, and it is people who are telling the researchers about their practices as goal-oriented, meaningful and affectively charged, they note, with a reference to an earlier text by a contributor to the volume, Stef Jansen.

In the next step in the ontological grounding of their research method the editors refer to Martin Heidegger. Here his well-known thought that it is impossible to experience the world cognitively without being affectively attuned or in a certain mood is emphasized, but it seems that for the editors Heidegger's thoughts on affects and material culture are even more important in this context. Especially the questions of tools and instruments are, they hold, central to Heidegger's system. Tools, they write, are designed to be used by the owner of the tools at a given moment (they are *zuhanden*), but when they happen to break they are *vorhanden* and give the user a reason to contemplate their construction. A tool which is *vorhanden* is an object which gets a name, which can be pondered on and gets its cultural significance though an inventory of the rest of the tools. In this way the tool, the object becomes a symbol or a representation.

Heideggerian *Stimmung* or moods and feelings are in the editors' view always situated in a certain situation, and the person in question has to confront this situation where things such as affects are related to objects, as for instance when an upset woman (from Frykman's chapter on inheritance struggles) breaks a vase in anger. This is, the editors write, an example of what Heidegger meant with the concept of *Befindlichkeit*, a situation in which affects make things mean something, a complex chain of relations which can be experienced immediately and which become distinct.

This volume and its research objects cross boundaries in a geographical way too. There are three distinct geographical boundaries in the material. A bloc of texts – affectively the most charged here – deal with different aspects of the highly turbulent recent past of the Balkans, more specifically from the former Yugoslavia – these are Maja Povrzanović Frykman's "Sensitive Objects of Humanitarian Aid" (subtitled "Corporeal Memories and Affective Continuities"), Nevena Škrbić Alempijević & Sanja Potkonjak's "The Titoaffect: Tracing Objects and Memories of Socialism in Postsocialist Croatia" and Stef Jansen's "Ethnography and the Choices Posed by the 'Affective Turn'". Jansen's research object is located in Bosnia Herzegovina, although the text is above all methodologically cued and offers a phenomenologically oriented researcher several different possibilities for building up a robust methodology. There is a family resemblance between Jansen's essay and Löfgren's since both in their research use not only fieldwork but also movies as material. Of the texts focusing on the Balkans, perhaps the most illuminating as to the power of affective objects is the one by Maja Povrzanović Frykman on the emotional and affective charge which material goods handed out in humanitarian aid during the war 1992–95 still hold over those who were subjects of the aid rations. The links between affects, memory and storytelling here are quite strong and they also fill the essay with a powerful emotional charge.

No fewer than four of the essays here are based on research material from Norway. These are Britt Kramvig & Anne Britt Flemmen's "What Alters When the Traditional Sámi Costume Travels? A Study of Affective Investments in the Sápmi", Elisabet Sørfjorddal Hauge's "In the Mood: Place and Tools in the Music Industry with a Focus on Entrepreneurship", Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl & Jonas Frykman's "Innovation and Embodiment in a Small

Town Hotel" and Sarah Holst Kjær's "The Performative Museum: Designing a Total Experience".

The third geographical area which the volume deals with is Southwest Texas. which is the place in which a probing phenomenological cultural analysis is performed by Lesley Stern and Kathleen Stewart (the latter known for her book *Ordinary Affects* from 2007), "Companion Pieces Written Through a Drift", performed in a spirit of experimental ethnography in the form of a travelogue of these peripheral and mostly desolate parts of Texas. A result of the experiment is a double report of how to take in and how to write about a trip which all the time is a performance and an opening to sensations and vibrations which the "ordinary" ethnographer or traveller does not necessary experience. The research method requires an openness to nature, atmospheres, feelings, anxieties, but also to symbols of various kinds and a certain staging (which interestingly enough links it to the findings of the Danish research group mentioned earlier in this review). The performance is akin to both a road movie and a form of writing associated with authors such as Rebecca Solnit or Georges Perec. With help from memory work and a situational performative logic, with special objects, above all a cardboard rooster, bought by one of the ethnographers and photographed in various positions in the landscape, the writers try to open up the ethnological field in new ways. This text concludes the volume and is well worth reading but at the same time points towards the methodological challenges facing the neo-phenomenological approach.

And there might still be something missing in this quite thorough and well-researched book on sensitive objects, affects and atmospheres, something which above all poses questions of temporality, above all those concerning the relationship between the contemporary, the moment of "now" in the objects and affects analysed and various aspects of the past and of the future. This problem is raised in some of the texts, especially the one by Frykman on inheritance troubles and those from the turbulent recent history of the Balkans in which questions of remembrance play quite a decisive role in the affectual history writing that takes place in these ethnographies. But there is still something lacking concerning the work to be done in affect studies of the kind this book is an example of.

When reading the well-researched articles by Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl & Jonas Frykman on innovation and embodiment in a small town hotel in southern Norway or by Sarah Holst Kjær on the performative museum and tourist attraction in Southern Norway called the Lindesnes Lighthouse, a feeling akin to watching a feel-good movie or a romantic comedy starts creeping in. This might have something to do with both these objects and clusters of objects being quite striking aesthetically, situated as they are in the tourist industry which by its very nature in many ways is adjacent to genres of entertainment in e.g. cinema, from detective stories to romantic comedies or melodrama. My question is simply one about emerging narrative genres and sentimental structures to be reckoned with in the ethnographic storytelling taking place. I think these types of often "minor" genres and aesthetic categories are constantly on the move today and might coalesce in ways we haven't understood well enough yet, not even in an otherwise quite impressive volume like this one.

To conclude: the enigma is still unsolved: when patterns of behaviour, genres from different media and art forms and registers of gestures are brought in into this type of study, will this move dissolve the possible pre-discursive and pre-reflexive aspects of these relations between what we have learned to call subject and that which we call object and undo this something which is more vague and elusive, such as the Heideggerian philosophical categories?

Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Vasa

Danish Local History under Debate

Kim Furdal, Kampen om lokalhistorien. 1–2. Museum Sønderjylland, ISL-Lokalhistorie, Sønderborg 2016. 714 pp. Ill. English and German summaries. ISBN 978-87-88376-99-9.

■ Kim Furdal, curator at Museum Sønderjylland, starts from the growing interest in local history studies in Denmark since the 1970s. In this comprehensive two-volume work with over seven hundred pages he gives a detailed historical account running from the end of the nineteenth century to the contemporary focus on works of local history in Denmark. The two books are based on the author's doctoral dissertation from 2012.

Furdal is critical of the way that historical research at universities in Denmark has devoted scant interest to local history and has even regarded such studies as uninteresting and unscientific in terms of source criticism. Instead national history has been at the centre.

The author seeks to correct this by analysing local history literature, with the emphasis on Sønderjylland (South Jutland). This corresponds to the Duchy of Schleswig, which belonged to Germany from 1864 until a plebiscite was held in 1920. Denmark's southern boundary at this time ran much further to the north than today. In view of the German history it is natural that the author also considers the interest that Germans have taken ever since the nineteenth century in the concept of *Heimat* (*hjemstavn* in Danish). In this concept there has been a clear link between the home district and the nation state after the unification of Germany in 1871. In Denmark, on the other hand, *hjemstavn* does not always refer to a local district where one feels at home; the idea of the nation is automatically included in it too.

Furdal's aim is to try to understand the forces that drive the interest in local history and how it has developed over time. The breakthrough for local history began in the 1890s at Askov folk high school, which is close to the old border with Germany. In 1891 a journal of Danish cultural history was started, *Aarbog for Dansk Kulturhistorie*. At the same time there was a growing interest in *Heimatvereine* in Germany.

Up until the 1920s the term "topographical history" was used, referring to a place to which the researcher has no personal relationship. It concerns an objective history with strict scientific theories and methods which university historians can accept and engage in. The results are supposed to have a general bearing, to say something about the development of society, and to have some potential connection to the national history.

Coming as a later contrast to this was *hjemstavnshistoria* (homeland history). This means that the author and the reader have a personal bond to the place that is studied: the place where they were born, have their family, and feel at home. This is personally experienced history, with one's own memories and with the people at the centre. This kind of history has a limited chronological depth, going back at most a hundred years. This is the history the author is mostly concerned with. Chronological or linear time is not important in these cases, in contrast to topographic history. What has happened took place "within human memory", without the time being exactly specified. The place is more important than the time. For the author it is essential that homeland history is not generally regarded as poor-quality local history by comparison with topographical history. Instead it is a matter of different forms of historiography, each with its own justification.

It is only since the 1970s that literature on homeland history has begun to appear to any extent in Sønderjylland. Many local history archives and societies were established at this time. The consequence was a democratization of local history in that more people without specific training in history could write articles and publish works from their own locality. In this context one can talk of amateur historians. The interest in the place where one feels at home can be perceived as a counter to the technologization and globalization that has increasingly affected people's lives in recent decades. Through what they have experienced locally, individuals gain something personal and need not feel lost in the face of an impersonal multitude of people and rapid technological development.

The primary thing about Furdal's two books is that he focuses on and explains two completely different strategies that have occurred in Danish local history literature. These are topographical history versus the homeland history that he identifies with more. There is a red thread running through both books. The detailed presentation and the many examples may however make it heavy work for the reader to plough through the large amount of text and follow the running theme. For anyone who would like a more accessible survey of the main points in the discussions and analyses there is a good summary in the closing chapter, "In the Mists of Time" in volume 2, pp. 585–605.

Anders Gustavsson, University of Oslo/Henån

Light and Lighting as Cultural History

Jan Garnert, Ut ur mörkret. Ljusets och belysningens kulturhistoria. Historiska Media, Lund 2016. 269 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7545-404-7.

■ Art and literature contrast darkness and daylight with artificial light, emphasizing the importance of

sight, but also how hearing, touch, and to some extent even the sense of small are significant for helping vision when it is hard to see. Despite the darkness that must have been greater in the past, it is not certain that people then were more afraid of the dark, but the remarkable things that happened in folk belief often took place in the dark hours, or rather at dawn and dusk. The transition between day and night was an insecure time when supernatural forces ruled. Dusk and darkness required caution when something practical had to be done, if it could be done at all. Lighting, even the smallest kind, was expensive. Before the coming of modern lighting, festive illuminations were possible only on very special occasions, for example, when a king was crowned. The sense of festivity was only possible because darkness otherwise prevailed.

To understand light and the experience and utility of illumination, Jan Garnert considers here the rhythm of natural light during the day and the year. Nordic light is special since the sun can be low in the sky for several hours. Artists and authors have testified to the distinctive quality of twilight. The author wonders whether twilight nowadays can perhaps be appreciated more when lighting technology can illuminate the darkness of evening. In the old days it was perhaps most associated with nuisance. Garnert makes a serious attempt to understand how people in former times experienced light and dark, but it is not always easy to arrive at clear answers. He mentions that winters without snow could feel particularly gloomy. “Black winter” is what people still call a season without snow in some parts of Scandinavia where there is usually snow in the winter.

The book surveys pre-industrial lighting techniques. Garnert believes that, for a farmer with land and money, there was no shortage of lighting other than in a technical sense, but the number of people without property grew in the nineteenth century and their poverty did not permit much lighting. An interesting perspective, in view of the fact that industrially produced light began to be developed in the mid nineteenth century, is that it took roughly a century for good lighting to become generally available. For both high and low in the old days, lighting was associated with the fire hazard and the smell. The perception of colour follows the history of lighting, and Garnert illustrates this too with the aid of art from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It could be rather dark in shops in former days, and cloth merchants often took the customer outside to show their wares, Garnert writes, but even I remember from my childhood in the 1960s that a shop assistant could take a customer out into the street to see the colour of the cloth better. This book highlights Pehr Hilleström’s pictures because he is one of few artists who have painted people and places in evening light. A written source is Märta Helena Reenstierna’s diary from the eighteenth century, which tells of lighting in a manor house.

Something began to happen gradually with lighting technology. The oil lamp with the Argand burner from the 1780s was a predecessor of the paraffin lamp but it was only an option for wealthy people. Oddly, it is not mentioned in contemporary sources, although we often read about candles of tallow and wax. Garnert does not tell us why this is. Perhaps people in the upper classes were so used to candles that nothing new could compete. Perhaps artists in the eighteenth century were more interested in the experience of a living candle flame than in describing the use of lighting. Candles have an ancient symbolic meaning. The development of stearin candles is a typological and functional evolution of tallow and wax candles, and their ceremonial function was also taken over by stearin candles.

The light that changed everything was the paraffin lamp, because of the brightness of the light and the availability of paraffin. The paraffin lamp is said to have created a new form of togetherness in bourgeois families. Memoir writers tell of how the lamp was placed in the middle of the table and the family assembled around it. Artists have illustrated this as well. Working-class families also gathered around the lamp, but for practical reasons, to perform various chores. The author also notes that the assembly around the lamp could become a coercion.

Garnert observes that it is hard to find artistic images from factories, offices, and other workplaces. Work environments are however described in literature, memoirs and archival material. The paraffin lamp was not a major lighting revolution in industry, especially not outdoors in places like sawmills, where working hours had to be adapted to the rhythm of the day; this had also applied to bygone craftsmen, who had a feast on the day in autumn when it was necessary to light the candles in the workshop again. Outdoors on factory grounds it was the electric arc light that made it possible to work after dark. Certain people began to wonder about the

negative effects of lighting. August Strindberg wrote that electric light harms the eyes and prolongs working hours for labourers.

The incandescent bulb "saw the light of day" in 1879, and small steam-powered generators began to deliver electricity to the central parts of Swedish towns. The artist Hugo Birger painted the Fürstenberg home in 1885. Garnert analyses the painting and points out that the two people depicted there can talk to each other even though they are at some distance from each other. Electric light did not require people to gather round a table as the paraffin lamp had done; the electrified chandelier illuminated the whole room. Electric lights gave off no fumes, did not need to be refilled with fuel or cleaned. They were easy to switch on and off, and could be left unattended. An industrially produced form of lighting was gaslight, which gradually disappeared as electric bulbs became more common.

In Sweden in the 1920s work was done to improve light fixtures and create a functional and pleasant lighting environment. Several old factories began manufacturing electric fittings and new manufacturers established factories. A number of architects, including Gunnar Asplund, began to work with the planning of lighting. Light culture became a familiar concept and "The Swedish Association for Light Culture" was founded in 1926; under the leadership of Ivar Folcker it helped to spread information to improve lighting technology. Garnert mentions several classics in the history of light fittings for the home, the workplace, and public outdoor lighting, which makes his book interesting and worth reading. It is a fact in the history of Swedish lighting that the two world wars stimulated electrification with the aid of water power, making it possible to install electric lighting to avoid dependence on imported paraffin and coal.

The exhibition "Light in the Service of Man" in 1928 at Liljevalch's Art Gallery in Stockholm and the Stockholm Exhibition in 1930 displayed modern lighting technology, and Garnert states that the ideas about good lighting in the home and the workplace were among the goals of the welfare state, "the people's home". The exhibitions and the autumn campaign of the Association for Light Culture in 1929 emphasized that Sweden's housewives needed functional lighting in the home. There was disappointment that, despite all the information about good lighting, consumers preferred to buy light fittings in older styles which did not use the potential of the incandescent bulb to the full. The author has not undertaken any in-depth study of this conservatism, which persisted throughout the twentieth century. Workplaces made much better use of the potential of new technology.

In 1924 the first neon lights in Sweden were switched on, in Stockholm. Lighting is a subject on which there are many opinions. The municipal architect thought it was banal but the Beauty Council in Stockholm saw it as a natural development of metropolitan society and an aesthetic enhancement. The Light Week in Stockholm also provoked debate. "Lighting barbarism" was the term used to criticize the muddle of outdoor illumination and facade lighting that failed to bring out the architecture. The author Ivar Lo-Johansson wrote the novel *Kungsgatan* in 1935, with its testimony to the huge attraction of city lighting for young people. During the 1930s, however, domestic lighting was behind the times among individuals and families who still lived in small flats that lacked modern conveniences such as running water and toilets. The Cooperative Society founded the Luma factory, which began making bulbs in 1930 to bring prices down. In the majority of homes there was still just a single ceiling lamp in each room. Despite the limitations in the housing environment, the 1930s was the period when modern lighting technology began its development. The next step was the fluorescent tube. Remarkably, this caught on during the Second World War and Sweden was an unusually illuminated country when other countries were under a blackout. It took some time, however, before fluorescent tubes became common in homes.

The 1950s was an intensive time for the improvement of domestic lighting. It began when Swedish Radio launched a series of programmes called "The Living Home" in 1951. A new material for light fittings was plastic, which gave new possibilities, but bentwood also became fashionable in an attempt to imitate the glow of a living fire. Hans-Agne Jakobsson's bentwood lamp from Elysette was a success which was manufactured until 1989. The advent of television required domestic lighting to be adapted. Backlit ceilings became common in offices and shops in the 1950s, but now development had come so far that there was too much light, and fluorescent tubes soon went out of fashion.

The last two chapters in the book are about the

present and future. Some analysts maintain that there are now no technical deficiencies or costs to stand in the way of lighting. One may doubt the latter, as many Swedes feel that electricity is expensive, and the environmental aspect makes people think about their electricity consumption. The development of lighting now takes place on the terms of technology, which seems to lack limitations. Unlike other domestic fittings, it cannot build on older traditions. Nowadays people "furnish" their homes with light, but function and light quality are not simple matters to resolve. A new profession of specialists, light designers, has arisen in recent years. When it comes to tendencies for the future, the author sums this up with LED and colour, and our relationship to the rhythm of the day. Daytime can now last around the clock without interruption.
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The Forbidden Joik

Ola Graff, Joikeforbudet i Kautokeino. Davvi Girji, n.p. 2016. 197 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-329-0034-3.

■ Research on joik and joiking has long been dominated by an interest in pre-modern joik traditions. The functions of joiking, its forms and its regional variations, have occupied the pages of books and journals – a direct parallel to the tendency that has dominated research on other Nordic folk music for so long.

Roughly 25 years ago, research began on joik and joiking in modern society. Two trails, often combined, can be discerned: the encounter of joiking with popular music and joik as an expression that generates identity.

Ola Graff's latest research goes beyond these well-trodden paths when he investigates the ban on joiking in school teaching that the school board in Kautokeino imposed in 1953. The prohibition was maintained for several decades. Graff's study examines how the ban was enforced and heeded, how the ban can be explained and how it was described in literature and the press. Ultimately, this detailed study concerns the ideas about joik and joiking that have existed during the period in question: among local decision makers, among the Sami population in the municipality, and among teachers and school management.

Ola Graff is a curator at the University of Tromsø who has for many years published works about joik and joiking. In several studies he has taken an interest in analyses of form. He has refuted the previously widespread view that joiks are improvised, with the form being of little significance. Graff's conclusion is the opposite, namely, that joiks are built up with a strong sense of form. In his doctoral dissertation (2002, published in a revised version in 2003) he succeeds in making the extremely scant source material say something essential about the Coast Sami tradition that is now extinct in practice. Graff shows how the proximity to Norwegian musical culture has affected joiking among the Coast Sami, and how their joiking, despite this proximity, has preserved very old features which disappeared even earlier elsewhere.

Kautokeino in the present study is a municipality in the northern county of Finnmark with a small population. There is a large Sami element. The prohibition on joiking in school teaching was made by a wholly Sami school board; it was thus neither the school management nor any central Norwegian body that was behind the ban. The negative attitude to joiking among the Sami in the locality was based on two unfavourable circumstances, namely that joiking was regarded as pagan and that it was associated with drinking. There was an equally negative view in the neighbouring municipality of Karasjok, but there, according to Graff (p. 164) they did not go as far as to impose a formal ban. To understand this difference in attitude one needs to know that Laestadian belief had a strong position among the Sami population.

Graff follows closely how the schools related to the prohibition. A relevant factor is that many teachers did not have a Sami background and in many cases came from the south. They thus had poorer contact with the Sami population and their way of thinking, and above all they could not teach the children about joik. They were thus doubly disqualified in this burning issue.

Teachers and school management obeyed the decision of the school board for a long time, even if they did not sympathize with it. In 1976 the question came up again. By then the attitude to joik had changed in Norwegian society as a whole, and the first joik-based bands had been formed. But the school board chose to maintain the prohibition on the use of "joik discs or sound recordings in history lessons in school" (p. 62).

Graff's study goes on to describe how this prohibition became increasingly difficult to comply with,

even though schools were obliged to respect the renewed decision. An external decision that affected the situation locally was when Nils-Aslak Valkeapää was invited to joik at the opening ceremony of the Winter Olympics in Lillehammer in 1994. His performance rekindled the negative emotions about joik among certain Sami, even though joik had then become an acclaimed symbol of Norway and the northern culture. The gap between these perceptions illustrates the great distance between the central elite and a minority who were distant in several respects.

Ola Graff's book is meticulous in its description of this drama. There are so many details, and the quotations from minutes and newspapers and newspapers are so long that a reader may suspect that the author is mainly addressing a local readership out of a desire to satisfy their need for reconciliation in this value-laden conflict. The narrative can no doubt still be sensitive. "The question of joik in school was fraught with emotion. One of the reasons for that is that joik itself is fraught with emotion" (p. 177). In the text there are interviews with people who were themselves involved in the events. It is rather telling that we see less soul-searching than a tendency to forget.

The scholarly value of the book lies, to begin with, in the well-found choice of topic. The prohibition in Kautokeino is a seemingly trifling matter, besides which it is now a thing of the past, but it is nevertheless an important piece in the puzzle that is the history of how joik was moved from the solitude of the reindeer herder to today's media spotlight. The prohibition illustrates how difficult the change of attitude was among certain Sami and how local thinking was not in step with the reappraisal in society at large. Although the study took place in a small environment, it is a much broader problem.

As for the text, a reader with an interest in research will get most out of the closing part of the book, which is entitled "Reflections" but which just as easily could have been called "Conclusions and Discussion". Here Graff puts the conflict into a larger perspective, viewing it in relation to the transformation of joik in our times and the changed status of the Sami in their respective societies. Those involved in Kautokeino were staunch in their opinions, but they were nevertheless firmly clamped in the vice formed by these larger changes.

Gunnar Ternhag, Falun

Summer Life

Sommarliv. Minnen, drömmar och materialitet. Kerstin Gunnemark (ed.). Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2016. 335 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7061-218-3.

■ Before proceeding further into this book review, I owe the reader an acknowledgment. Much along the lines of the contributors to *Sommarliv*, who tell us their own stories of "summer life" in the epilogue, I must confess that I too am a *stuga* owner. As I read through the chapters of this edited volume, not only was I invited into the lived life of other second home dwellers and owners, campers and sailors in different phases of life and history in a predominantly Swedish summer landscape. Throughout my reading of the edited volume I also found myself revisiting episodes from family chronicles. The building of the wooden cottage, the *stuga*, in Småland by my grandparents in the late 1970s, their travels first by ferry (and initially by scooter!) and later on over the Öresund Bridge. The delicate negotiations of inheritance and, eventually, the careful introduction of a better half into the practice and rituals of *my* stuga and how it gradually but not without controversies became *ours*.

Soon followed the joy of bringing up two new stuga goers and experiencing anew the joys of childhood in the woods hand in hand with new worries about the future for this little piece of heaven on earth. The aesthetics of our stuga: the lament in early adulthood of not possessing an authentic *ødegård* and the current cherishing of its retro seventies décor and easy maintenance. The careful balancing of comfort (such as indoor sanitation) and simplicity (outdoor shower, no internet), the adding of new functional and decorative elements – often purchased at a local flea market, but also the caring for and restoration of the old.

As I read through the book during late winter and early spring, I found myself and my family reflected in other people's lives – and increasingly yearned for the coming summer, the first *smultron* (wild strawberries), and the ice-cold dips into the lake. *Sommarliv* had me completely disarmed confronted with the impressions and weight that summer life clearly but unexpectedly imposed on me during my readings, which had been assigned to me for very different reasons – my professional insights as ethnologist and tourism researcher.

But this is in fact one of the central points that the editor Kerstin Gunnemark and contributors are trying to make: that individual experiences and practices weave into cultural history in the unfolding and repetition of Nordic rural and maritime summer life. In spite of attempts to delimit it from "everyday life", closely described in many of the contributing chapters, summer life practices are deeply engrained into our world building as individuals and as a society. In that sense, the book is a classic example of what ethnology does best, manoeuvring modestly yet steadily between narratives of lived experience and the gradual changes of leisure patterns, cultural aspirations, socio-economic opportunities and technological advances.

To exemplify this, an impressive array of essays has been collected in this book. As the title suggests, summer life is explored as memories, as dreams and as materialities. These aspects are scrutinized further in four general sections. The first section, "Accounts of Summer Life Activities", provides examples of summer activities. The first chapter analyses a questionnaire survey on holiday houses, offering us accounts of the simplicity, changes, controversies and contrasts to normal urban environments as experienced and recounted by Finnish summer cabin goers (Yrsa Lindqvist). Interestingly, we are then told about the holidaying practices of tourist destination residents themselves, in this case from Gotland, opening up for new ways to study and understanding tourism places and host-guest encounters (Birgitta Strandberg-Zerpe & Carina Johansson). The destination takes centre stage in an account from DanishTisvilde as a place of tourism, in which a longitudinal approach is deployed to grasp space-bound and tourism-related continuities, changes and controversies (Ole Rud Nielsen).

In the second section, "Dreams and Realizations", we are invited to explore imagination and expectations of summer life and how these are balanced against and negotiated with reality. Based on a historical account, it is explained why German tourists long for Swedish forest cabins (Silke Göttsch-Elten) and the cultural construction of Sweden in Germany is further pursued in an analysis which conjoins the urge for Sweden by individual tourists and the pop-cultural staging of Sweden through media and films (Jasmin Laura Panzlaff). We are also brought along to a contemporary camping site to explore the unfolding of particular camping practice, cultural differences, motivations and aspirations (Asta Burvall) and into the leisurely space of the garden of allotment owners, through accounts of memories, aspirations and reality (Eva Knuts).

The third section, "Generation and Cultural Heritage", explores summer life as seen through an intergenerational lens. In the first contribution, heritage/inheritance and belonging are explored along three analytical currents: the interplay of change and continuity, place, and memory. These show how heritage is spatially and culturally practised in and through a particular place (Maja Lagerqvist). Discontinuity is studied next through the phenomenon of what we might term "summer house hopping", where holiday dwellings are continually substituted with others along different phases of life. Also, we learn how holiday house "pioneers" are succeeded by both cultural custodians as well as cultural innovators (Kerstin Gunnemark).

The three contributions to the fourth section on "Aesthetic Expressions" centre on the aesthetic and increasingly digitally mediated staging of the holiday home. First explored is the roles and relationship between imaginaries of summer, aesthetic traditions and artefacts in the assemblage and staging of the holiday home – and in that process, of the self (Bia Mankell). Next, the emerging concept of cottage blogging is scrutinized, comparing and contrasting it to diaries, and proposing blogs as valuable sources for late modern everyday performances and staging of summer life (Susanna Rolfsdotter Eliasson).

The materialities and practices of aesthetics surrounding our holiday and holiday homes are lastly investigated, drawing on fieldwork on so-called lifestyle shops at a coastal destination. In this retail environment, aesthetics and offering "the right feeling" is presented as an ongoing and taxing achievement (Ida de Wit Sandström).

The last section, "From the Seaside", puts us to sea, exploring marine summer life. The expressions of summer are explored using the "ideal" IF-boat as a prism. Exploring what makes this vessel so long-lasting and so suitable for acting out sailing imaginaries, we retrieve the search for simplicity and freedom and the closeness to nature from many of the "land-based" accounts but also new elements in the sociality of summer, such as that of competition (Christine Fredriksen & Eva Hult). For many Swedes, sailing is simply a summer pivot and as this

last chapter on veteran boats explores, so is often nostalgia and once again, an increasing aestheticization and reconceptualization as heritage and as places of leisure. In this reworking process, controversies and power issues linger (Mattias Frihammar). As a last reminder, this contribution recalls that although much might look, feel and be remembered as idyllic in the magic Nordic summer land- and mindscapes, not everything always is.

The essays in the book briefly summarized above are well-aligned and project a sense of clear editing. The book is abundantly illustrated, but the use of illustrations is inconsistent and often unexplained, ranging from pictures provided by informants or archives, taken by the researchers or simply added for the purpose of aesthetic illustration. As pointed out in the preface, the book results from work conducted in relation to a Northern European *Summer Life* research network and a number of "mini symposiums" have been held, ensuring regular contact and correspondence between the contributors. This undoubtedly assisted in the close connection between most of the chapters, with very few unnecessary overlaps and an impressive width. It seems that some authors have attempted to work within a collective conceptual framework. Two recurrent concepts are the Foucauldian concept of *heterotopia* as a way to understand imaginary or concrete places and a loosely appropriated understanding of materiality from Actor-Network Theory.

While these are undoubtedly relevant to explore the imaginaries and concrete practices of "summer-housing", they seem rather superimposed onto the empirical material, as they are never fully deployed or worked through the material. While the idea of materiality as a process drawn from Tine Damsholt *et al*. works very well, for instance in the chapter on aesthetic staging from de Wit Sandström where it is combined with insight from Thomas O'Dell on emotional labour, non-human agency is never really demonstrated as more than a general claim. Surely materiality matters, but how does it do so as something more than a prop or a backdrop? This is still left rather underexplored. That aside, the volume introduces many other ways to theoretically engage with summer life, starting with Orvar Löfgren and aforementioned Damsholt *et al*. and O'Dell over Bourdieu, Baudrillard, Featherstone and Miller to Massey and the "early" Foucauldian Urry to his later mobility-oriented work with Hannam *et al*. and Bærenholdt *et al*.

Lagerqvist's chapter exemplifies the fruitful exploration of the hybridity and fluidity of the *torp*, but right from the introductory chapter developing summer life as a returning contrast to the urban way of life, binary oppositions are remarkably prominent in illustrating and conceptualizing unfolding summer practices: the rural as opposed to the urban, summer to winter, holidaying to work, the simplicity of the holiday home to that the of "complex", rushed or modern "real" home.

While these contrasts are surely interesting and – as mentioned at the beginning – recognizable to this reviewer, they fail to address relational, processual and entangled theoretical concerns (ANT being one of them) as well as social and technological changes, which have enabled or forced holiday home owners or goers to rework their practices. The increasing blurred work/life distinctions and the advances of the internet are but two changes that have fundamentally disrupted the proposed division, for instance by making the holiday home a very well-suited place for researchers (and journalist, authors, bloggers…) to work.

Just as we are shown in contributions to the book how housewives did not always "get away from it all" when the family went on summer holiday to a rustic holiday home, I would have enjoyed learning more about how holidaying norms and distinctions are blurred, challenged, maintained or torn down today. So while we might still recognize and experience (or at least dream of) clearly divided spheres, a next volume on "summer life 2.0" would also be on my academic reading wish list, which, as many of this readership might be familiar with, is often explored in a hammock while on holiday. At least in our dreams.

Carina Ren, Copenhagen

The Beloved Museum

Charlotte Hyltén-Cavallius & Fredrik Svanberg, Älskade museum. Svenska kulturhistoriska museer som kulturskapare och samhällsbyggare. Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2016. 211 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-88168-44-3.

■ In the early summer of 2015 I visited the Louise Bourgeois exhibition at Moderna in Stockholm together with my granddaughter, then five and a half years old. Having shown herself to be a capable

drawer, she fell in love with Bourgeois and with other artists – for example Picasso, Dali, and Duchamp – and she seemed to be highly satisfied with this art experience. When I asked her afterwards what had been the best part of the visit, however, she answered: "That you were allowed to go in and keep your shoes on." I was slightly disappointed and thought perhaps that she had not grasped so much of the visit, but when we got home she made a drawing of Bourgeois' spider sculpture which showed that she had noticed details in the work and had thus paid attention to the art too, even if the greatest sensation was being able to keep her shoes on!

This was my granddaughter's first visit to a major museum. Before that she had only been to the Uppland Museum and Bror Hjorth's house in Uppsala. Visiting museums has since become a favourite pastime for her. This puts her among a large group of Swedes. For, as the ethnologist Charlotte Hyltén-Cavallius and the archaeologist Fredrik Svanberg show in their book *Älskade museum* ("Beloved museum"), Swedes like to visit museums. Museums actually have more visitors than Allsvenskan first-division football, the Globen arena, and the contest to select a Eurovision song together! It certainly sounds plausible.

A museum is by definition a non-profit institution, open to the public and with the mission to preserve, explore, and mediate the cultural heritage. That last task in particular has led to the rise of a new professional category: the museum educator, whose job includes creating models for how the museums' mission and material will reach as many people as possible. And since Swedes are a museum-loving people, the educators have evidently succeeded, or they will succeed.

The cultural heritage administered by the museums is usually defined as a shared body of tradition, the value and relevance of which is not questioned but accepted as self-evident by a sizable group and is elevated above any doubt or political squabbling. The cultural heritage belongs to everyone, not just some. Yet the cultural heritage – for example, museum objects selected by someone with the right to make distinctions and choices – can never be apolitical. This is particularly obvious when extreme nationalist groups claim the heritage and interpret it from their positions, for example in a (vain) quest for the "Ur-Swedish", which is supposed to distinguish Us from the Other and make it clear who is included and who is excluded. This exclusion and sorting according to value is the focus of the museum discussion in this book. Ultranationalism is used in the sense of "the use of history to clarify and support the radical, ultranational sorting of people into us and others".

Fredrik Svanberg writes about the ultranationalistic use of history, in which one's own "race" and history are evidence of belonging and domiciliary rights for those who are entitled to call themselves Swedes. This discourse often emphasizes kinship with the Vikings, who are turned into a group that almost certainly never had any counterpart in reality. The stress on belonging is an effective way to exclude others, those who, according to the ultranationalistic ideology, do not count as Swedish. And there are many of them!

In his article Svanberg considers urgent topics such as race, racial biology, and racism in relation to the museum world. He takes his examples both from Nazi Germany and from today's racist Internet forums where Swedishness, belonging, and exclusion are discussed. He notes that the museums mostly fail in their presentations of diversity and that they not infrequently display a racified and/or "Swedish-Swedish" image at the expense of the cultural diversity that is characteristic of Swedish society. If I compare this with the archive world, I find that the problem has been the same, that is, "the Swedish" has been in focus and has been well demarcated from the diversity that has been labelled "Foreign Peoples in the Country", synonymous with Sami, Jews, Finns, etc., in other words, deviating in ethnicity or religion from the Swedish norm.

Ethnicity and religion are thus in focus in *Älskade museum*. Charlotte Hyltén-Cavallius writes about exhibitions on religion, such as Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Catholicism. She observes that museums make the religious heritages invisible, that they apply a historicizing perspective, and place other religions than Christianity outside Sweden, so that it seems as if Sweden has nothing to do with those religions. In this way they diminish the religious diversity in contemporary Swedish society. It feels a bit like being back in high school: when we studied the subject of religion (and not Christianity) the textbook had 90 pages on Christianity and 10 pages devoted to other religions. This was a great disappointment to an age group which could be attracted to a religion like Buddhism.

Some of the conclusions the authors draw from their study are that the museums chiefly tell the history of the white man. Women and children are under-represented. Women, moreover, are usually portrayed in passive roles. Ethnic minorities and HBTQ people are also under-represented. What we are shown instead is a heteronormative individual. There are direct parallels to this skewed outlook in the archives. There it is likewise mostly men's history that is told, while women, children, and minorities take a back seat. There too, a normal individual is allowed to represent what is Swedish.

Going to a museum is a phenomenon that arose during the nineteenth century. Although museums existed before that, this was when they began to interest a larger number of people, not least the growing bourgeoisie. The authors cite the example of the National Museum, which opened its doors in 1866. There the intention was to refine the Swedish people by means of an evolutionary stroll through art from the Stone Age to the present day. Visitors could follow the development from a simple state to their own complex society of the present.

Älskade museum is the result of a research project titled "Museums Beyond Homogeneity", a collaboration between the Multicultural Centre in Tumba and the National Council for Cultural Affairs. The project was originally part of a larger umbrella project called "Norm, Nation and Culture" run by Örebro County Museum. The book is a good and necessary complement to previous critical studies of museum practices, such as Stefan Bohman's *Historia, museer och nationalism* from 1997.

Älskade museum is a very well written book, and the text – I can imagine – is so reader-friendly that it is suitable for a large audience that need not have so much advance knowledge. Yet despite all its merits, I sometimes get the feeling that the authors repeat themselves. Moreover, it disturbs me that they use the imprecise word *kring* instead of a correct preposition to mean 'about, concerning'. It is regrettable that academic language should be influenced by what I perceive as colloquial language from the world of politics and the media. It is bad enough to find *kring* in seminar papers at universities, but much worse to encounter it in specialist literature. Naturally, this does not detract from the value of the content, but it causes irritation in an otherwise serious text, giving it a tone of uncertainty.

Agneta Lilja, Huddinge

Sin and Grace

Bengt af Klintberg, Kvinnan som inte ville ha barn. Sagotypen ATU 755, "Sin and Grace", i muntlig tradition och litterära verk. Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, Uppsala 2016. (Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi 163.) 306 pp. Ill. English summary. ISBN 978-91-87403-20-0.

■ One of the grand old men in Nordic Folkloristics, Bengt af Klintberg, has published a book investigating a fairy tale about a woman who would do even evil things in order not to become pregnant. This fairy tale has number ATU 755 in the recent motif index by Aarne-Thompson-Uther. In the Nordic countries, a long time has passed since we read a monograph about a fairy tale. In fact, af Klintberg wrote most of the texts during the 1970s and, from 2015, he completed the manuscript with the fourth and fifth chapter and the summary. Folklore research has changed tremendously during the last thirty years, methods are different, research questions altered and even the style of writing folkloristics is new. It goes without saying that this time span is extremely difficult to handle.

The book starts with a chapter in which the reader is acquainted with the tale. In a good scholarly manner the author defines his material, 152 written recordings from the Nordic countries, from which he requires as a criterion that they contain some central characteristics, i.e., that the woman uses magic in order not to become pregnant, that she marries a preacher, that she loses her shadow, and finally that something that cannot possibly flower puts forth blossoms and leaves.

After a source-critical passage and some pages about earlier research, the "real" investigation starts.

The author introduces his source material and demonstrates how it is found all around the Nordic countries, including some recordings from the southern parts of the Baltic Sea. Most of the records are Swedish, either from Sweden or the Swedish parts of Finland. The author wants to see whether the recordings give a correct image of the distribution of the tale in time and space and presents his variants country by country. This question is certainly not easy to answer because there are still many unsolved problems in the gathering process. However, he reaches the conclusion that the tale was probably widely known in Sweden from the nineteenth century, and that the Baltic area was its place

of origin. At the same time af Klintberg describes how the collecting of folklore was conducted, and how the collectors worked. The outcome is a fine assortment of collectors' biographies.

To my mind, the motif analysis is the most interesting part of the book. The author demonstrates how such an analysis can be useful for quite different purposes than to define the original form of a tale or to study its distribution. Here he explains what the motifs in the tale mean. For instance, he offers an explanation for what it means when the woman turns a quern anticlockwise in order not to give birth, or what the narrators want to express when they tell about a person who has no shadow. People who listen to folklorists telling about their research often ask exactly this kind of questions! There is also a cultural-historical component in the text that makes it even more pleasant.

A classical folklore topic comes to the fore when af Klintberg asks whether his tale is a fairy tale or a legend. Genre analysis was central in folkloristics during the 1960s and 70s, and especially the line between these two genres attracted scholars. Long stories were fairy tales and short ones were legends. "Sin and Grace" was found in both extended and diminutive forms. Magic acts belonged to the fairy tale whereas all kinds of Christian traits were generally categorized as religious tales. The same folklore narrative can be told for several minutes but also just mentioned in passing. Bengt af Klintberg favours regarding his text as a religious tale. However, this chapter also deals with the ability to tell long oral stories. He asks when the oral fairy tale vanished in the Nordic countries, and maintains that this happened along with all the major changes in society in the early twentieth century, except in Telemark, Norway, where oral tales were narrated even in the 1950s. A starting point for his thinking is that long stories are older than the shorter variants.

Chapter four deals with the worldview of the narrators. With the help of a stylistic analysis the author investigates the variants from a gender perspective according to the narrators' sex and demonstrates how the meaning of the tale differs depending on it. Men tend to describe the woman who did not want to give birth more harshly than women, who seem to be more conciliatory. Here the storyteller's art comes to the fore, and the reader can see how there were more or less experienced and skilled tellers among those who left ATU 755 behind more than a hundred years ago.

The last chapter deals with literary variants of the tale. It turns out that quite a lot of writers were acquainted with the story and made use of it in their works, and again, it seems that the Swedish folklore was inspiring them, more or less directly. In the appendix af Klintberg also introduces an anthroposophic variant of "Sin and Grace".

Bengt af Klintberg ponders on some central questions in folkloristics, and here he makes an effort to define a tale type. It turns out that a scholar has to be rather strict about how many motifs can be combined in a tale before he or she decides that the relevant text belongs to one specific tale type. For instance, not every tale about a flowering stone table is a variant of the tale type ATU 755. The scholar has to define what is the kernel, what is the central message in a text before he or she classifies it. In studying this problem af Klintberg also demonstrates possible ways in which a compilation arises.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo (Turku)

Music on a Big Danish Farm

Jens Henrik Koudal, Skæbnesymfoni og krokodillepolka. Musikkulturen på en stor gård mellem 1880 og 1960. Historika, Copenhagen 2016. 239 pp. Ill., music examples. ISBN 978-87-93229-68-6.

■ Would you like to travel in time to a fascinating musical environment in a vanished Denmark? Then read Jens Henrik Koudal's book about a music-making family on the big farm of Torpelund in north- west Sjælland, not far from the town of Kalundborg whose medium-wave transmitter used to be seen on every old radio receiver. Koudal's account is strict scholarship but with a distinct literary touch that makes it captivating. In other words: music rises from the page, skilfully performed in the upstairs room in the farmhouse, whether arranged local dance music or jewels from the classical repertoire. The reader is thus admitted to the limited circle who attended the family's musical gatherings.

Jens Henrik Koudal is senior researcher at the Danish Folklore Collection, which belongs to the Royal Library (which for some unfathomable reason has recently been given the secular name of Nation-

al Library). Behind him he has a long series of historically oriented studies of folk music-making, above all of instrumental music – his masterly doctoral dissertation about town musicians in Denmark is a classic. The Danish Folklore Collection preserves the very large archive from the Torpelund farm on which Koudal bases this study. The archive contains printed and handwritten music, letters, diaries, photographs, etc., which has enabled Koudal to follow in detail the doings of the music-making family.

Jens Henrik Koudal characterizes his study as ethnomusicology. Consequently, his actual study object is the music culture that existed on the farm for almost a hundred years. With the support of Alan Merriam's classical analytical perspective – the music itself, musical actions, and ideas about music – Koudal investigates the totality of musical life maintained by several generations on the farm. He calls the Olsen family *proprietors* and therefore talks of a *proprietor culture* (p. 15). Koudal writes that after around 1850 this term referred to "a non-noble owner of a large farm, usually 60–100 hectares of land, that is to say, an area larger than a normal farm and smaller than an estate" (p. 36).

The large surplus from the agricultural operations gave several members of the owner's family the opportunity to devote themselves wholeheartedly to music. And this in turn built up a strong identity in these individuals of being educated musical people, as is very clear from Koudal's history of the family. In similar contexts, the term *conspicuous consumption* is used about this kind of activity which was perceived as different in the eyes of the surroundings.

Another term that easily suggests itself is *educational capital*. The Olsen family deliberately strove to become educated in the field of music. This united the members so much that they spoke about "our circle", thereby marking a dividing line against most other people in the neighbourhood. The author claims that the Olsens were not aiming to be "acknowledged members of society in a broader sense, but to become part of a musical culture whose values were ultimately defined by the farm, the family, and the locality" (p. 211). The internal cohesion, the members' personal identity, and the family's attitude were thus the most important consideration, not social elevation. Yet the result was nevertheless that the family and the farm challenged the noble estates in cultural rank.

One reason why this insight into a Danish family's musical history is so fascinating is that we learn about their repertoire – as both performers and listeners. It consisted of two parts. They were passionately committed to the local dance music: "minuet, Kehraus, English dance, country dance, reel, march, waltz, Hamburger, polka, mazurka, and galop" (p. 119). This was the family's own music, a perception that was strengthened when folk music started to attract general attention as a cultural heritage and some family members took the initiative to publish parts of the family knowledge in arranged form. Although the dance tunes were regarded as the family's property, this music linked the family to people in the surroundings. When dance fashions later changed, the preservation of their own dance tunes meant that the family's members felt that newfangled innovations were alien.

The other, and larger, part of the repertoire consisted of classical music – symbolized in the title of the book (alongside the crocodile polka) by Beethoven's fifth symphony, "The Fate Symphony" (*Skæbnesymfoni)*. In an appendix Koudal lists the contents of the extant music. We see there that the Olsens performed works that were widespread in bourgeois circles in many countries. There was scarcely any Danish or Nordic touch to the way it sounded. Some of it was performed in the original setting, but most of it was arranged for the available instruments and voices. "The work, as we have it from the composer's hand, is not sacred; it is more important that it can be made to resound at Torpelund in small ensembles" (p. 146). This attitude too agrees with contemporary bourgeois music-making far beyond the borders of Denmark.

Jens Henrik Koudal's conclusion is that the musical culture at Torpelund was characterized by conservatism, privacy, and exclusivity (p. 211). It was conservative because it was based on the view that making music could maintain the significance of the family. The musical culture was private "because it cultivated the home and the family circle in a way that was invisible to others" (p. 212). And it was exclusive because it strove to uphold a difference vis-à-vis the educational level of the surrounding people. As a reader one is inclined to agree with Koudal's conclusions.

The arrangement of the book merits a comment.

In the introduction the author declares his scholarly premises in rather brief terms. The descriptive chapters, as I have said, are extremely vivid, but only exceptionally are they supported by research-based literature. Theoretical discussions are reserved for the last two chapters. There the study is linked to relevant literature, and some concepts are introduced to help the reader understand what has been described. No reason is given for this unusual arrangement, which is bewildering.

It is nevertheless delightful for a reader to participate in the music-centred social life of the Olsens, which was usually combined with good dinners based on the produce of the farm. Jens Henrik Koudal has written a memorial not just to a remarkable family but just as much to the many, many people through history who have had a passion for music and through their music-making have passed the torch to new generations.

Gunnar Ternhag, Falun

Journal of a Tour of Europe

Mikael Hisinger, Resedagbok från Europa 1783–1784. Jouni Kuure & Märtha Norrback (eds.). Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, Helsingfors/Bokförlaget Atlantis, Stockholm 2015. 389 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-951-246-7/978-91-7353-690-8.

■ In 1783 a lieutenant at the Royal Fortifications Administration, Mikael Hisinger, then aged 24, began a large tour of Europe in order to gain an education and to improve his knowledge of fortification and industrial management. The journey was financed by Mikael's father, Johan Hising, owner of the Fagervik ironworks in Nyland in Finland, where the would-be traveller lived and worked. Mikael Hisinger's travelling companion was to be Lieutenant Carl Råbergh, who had obtained a two-year travel grant from the Fortifications Administration.

This Administration, responsible for the country's defensive structures, would for a long time to come be the only institution where it was possible to pursue studies in architecture. Besides, a knowledge of defensive structures could only be obtained by travelling around Europe. These tours were thus a natural part of a fortification officer's education, which also included combat tactics, arithmetic, geometry, the theory of perspective, mechanics, hydraulics, and cartography.

The journey that Hisinger and Råbergh would undertake in Europe, for eighteen months in 1783–84, was thus a natural part of a noble officer's training, to improve professional and language skills, to forge contacts and acquire a good general education. Hisinger himself, moreover, was particularly interested in drawing and wash-drawing and in civil and military architecture, and he would have ample opportunity to study these subjects on the tour.

The educational tour as such went back all the way to the Middle Ages, when pilgrimages to special holy places and peregrinations to universities on the Continent were common. In the eighteenth century the universities were no longer the main attraction for the travellers; now the classical educational tour had been differentiated. To be able to serve with a foreign regiment, to pursue studies, and to enjoy culture and entertainment were crucial individual motives for these tours. Not only noblemen's sons, like Hisinger himself, went on tours, but also aristocratic ladies, artists, and academics. Italy was not infrequently the main destination, where ancient works of art and ruins could be studied. In France the traveller was expected to engage in conversation with philosophers, and in England one could study the design of the parks.

Preparations for the journey included reading the rich amount of available travel literature, the aim of which was to give practical advice. Through this literary genre the would-be traveller could become acquainted with the culture, nature, and history of distant countries, chiefly in Europe. The narratives could be full of scholarly detail and scientific descriptions, but they could also be entertaining with tales of exotic adventures. In the eighteenth century, however, the genre became more specialized, as books could deal specifically with culture, art, or nature.

Another essential preparation was to ensure finance for the journey, which had to cover the hire of a horse and carriage or payment for transport, accommodation, purchases on the journey, and tips. Hisinger took out cash with the aid of bills of exchange at bankers in Strasbourg and Dresden. An educational journey was expensive and therefore could only be undertaken after serious economic consideration.

The primary aims for the journey of the noble officers Hisinger and Råbergh was to study different fortresses in Europe. It goes without saying that they

would also learn about culture, history, and art. The two officers took such a keen interest in fortifications that they were sometimes suspected of being spies. A crucial condition for their ability to visit several of the sites was that they had letters of recommendation from important people, which was especially important in France. They also had the task of observing the military manoeuvres of Frederick the Great at Potsdam in summer 1783, which both gentlemen documented in the form of drawings and sketches.

But it was not just military fortifications that the two travellers were interested in; they also sought out ancient monuments and works of art. Originally there were plans, as on other more extensive educational tours, to go to Italy and visit the Roman monuments, but for various reasons they decided in the end to study monuments elsewhere on the Continent, for example the Saxon kings' collection of antique sculptures in Dresden or the aqueduct in Lyon. Metropolitan architecture in cities such as Berlin and Paris aroused great interest on the tour, and the most powerful experience of that kind for Hisinger was the Ermenonville park outside Paris, designed in the new philosophical-romantic style.

Another purpose of the journey was to collect certain works of art, the most distinctive of which was the Chinese pavilion which later ended up at Fagervik; it was, and probably will remain, unique in Finland.

Hisinger's travel diary is introduced by an eighty-page account of Hisinger as a person, his family and professional life, plus a description of the preparations for the journey and of how it actually turned out. The book has plenty of beautiful illustrations, as befits the genre, and it is not difficult to imagine the travellers' fascination with the places they would visit. The notes are detailed too. After the introductory parts comes a transcript of Hisinger's diary, and the reader is given good help to understand both the antiquated technical terms and the numerous Gallicisms, the eighteenth-century counterpart to today's Anglicisms, although mostly used only by the upper class. Not unexpectedly, Hisinger uses French idioms in every other sentence, which modern readers may find tiresome and coquettish. On the other hand, Hisinger's language gives the documentary feeling a reader today expects of a text from the late eighteenth century.

As is customary with travel journals, the writer's interest and energy can vary as regards how much is noted down in the course of the journey, and the same applies to Hisinger. Not everything is of the same importance, and in certain periods the notes become more sparse. In the main, however, the reader is given a detailed and captivating picture of the places and people that Hisinger and his companion visited and met along the way, and at times he gives a fairly spicy account of various things.

The publisher of the work, the Swedish Literature Society in Finland, has given us yet another lavish and beautifully illustrated book, and if one is particularly interested in the culture and history of the learned class of Finland-Swedes in the eighteenth century, Mikael Hisinger's travel journal can definitely be recommended.

Henrik Brissman, Lund

University as Medium

Universitetet som medium. Matts Lindström & Adam Wickberg Månsson (eds.). Mediehistoriskt arkiv vol. 27. Mediehistoria, Lunds universitet 2015. 296 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-981961-0-8.

■ "This collection of essays concerns the use of old and new media in the humanities. If we are to follow the editors' arguments, there is a need for digital laboratories. Digitization has become a permanent revolution in the humanities.

The volume is divided into four thematic parts, starting with "Roads of knowledge: Physical sites and digital tools" (*Kunskapens vägar: Fysiska platser och digitala verktyg*). Here Pelle Snickars writes about the crossroads between traditional academic structures and the rapid growth of computerized technologies. New forms of publication cultures and Open Access may be the logical consequence of a growing sharing culture. Cecilia Lindhé discusses how the senses and the room's physical shape provide new ways to make history present. Maria Engberg focuses on her role as a scientist and how it changed when encountering digital technologies. It was like a movement from an initially analytic relation to new variations on creative involvement. The variety of media experiences from the digital laboratory HUMlab in Umeå are evolved in Patrik Svensson's input. If the universities traditionally favoured textual expressions, there is a change going on.

The next thematic field is "The university system: People, media, machines" (*Universitetssystemet: Människor, medier, maskiner*). Here the complex relation between Academia and the surrounding community is examined. Magnus Bremmer illustrates this by drawing attention to the informal and international observation network taking form in meteorological science during the second half of the nineteenth century. I make a special comment on Bremmer's input later in this review.

Jonas Andersson Schwarz describes a network among bloggers that shows how the boundary between Academia and the outside world has gradually shifted from well-defined borders to much smoother dividing lines than before. In this context Niklas Svensson examines the often lengthy appeal processes related to academic appointments in the 1800s, which triggered certain public interest in academic appointments.

The third theme is "Knowledge and communication: The order of words" (*Kunskap och kommunikation: Ordens ordning*). The most fundamental media expressions are language and words. Bo Lindberg explores how they have worked in Academia. Today, English is the "lingua franca" and a reminiscent of the linguistic unity that Latin originally gave the European universities. Perhaps this, as Lindberg speculates, might reflect a growing cosmopolitan future.

The spoken word stands in contrast to written texts. Leif Dahlberg examines academic conversation. As something opposed to written texts, spoken words create opportunities to think in new ways, and there are a whole range of professional interactive situations and "good conversations" at the universities. Jonas Ingvarsson comments on the relationship between theory and practice in the humanities in similar ways.

The last theme of the anthology is "Critical perspectives" (*Kritiska perspektiv*). The focus is on the two major names in international research on media history, Friedrich A. Kittler and Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht. Friedrich Kittler's contribution concerns the university's history and future, transformed into a medically inspired vocabulary (anamnesis, diagnosis and prognosis). Finally, Mira Stolpe Törneman and Adam Wickberg Månsson present an interview with Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht. The result is an eye-opening conversation about the relation between time, thought and technology. The philosophical view on the academic practitioners' challenges and opportunities has much to do with time – for example how digital storage capacities overrule traditional views of time and makes concurrences wider in our minds.

Here I will proceed with some words about the contribution by Magnus Bremmer. The early use of scientific photography is highlighted in his article. At the same time he touches on what I have been studying for a long time, the history of winds and clouds. Therefore I will present my personal reflections on his article, filtered through my own findings. The title of Bremmer's article is: "En ofantlig maskin: Fotografiet, molnatlasen och 1800-talets meteorologiska nätverk" ("An immense machine: The photograph, the cloud atlas and 1800s meteorological network.")

The situation in London in 1803, when Luke Howard presented his watercolours to an audience in the East End, was remarkable. People must have wondered where the cloud classification came from. The classification was brilliant and indeed something new. Among Howard's admirers were the poet von Goethe and many artists of the time, and the cloud names were based on family names, like flowers in the Linnaean style: cirrus, cumulus and stratus.

Much later, in the 1860s, the physicist and meteorologist Robert Rubenson and the young lecturer Hugo Hildebrand Hildebrandsson in Uppsala begun publishing the series *Bulletin météorologique mensuel* with observations and weather data from the observatory in Uppsala.

Bremmer starts his article here. It is in the wake of an international meteorological conference in Vienna in 1873. The delegates were asked to send in photographs of clouds in their home countries; it was still unclear whether they were the same all over the globe or not. Hildebrandsson started his cooperation with the Uppsala photographer Henri Osti and after some years they published *Sur la classification des nuages employée à l'Observatoire météorologique d'Upsala* (1879). Perhaps they scored a bonus point on the international scene. No other country responded to the idea of bringing back images of national clouds.

For a long time Hildebrandsson, now professor, had studied the patterns of high cirrus clouds over Sweden. Often they came in from the west, forecasting rainy weather and barometer minima.

On the international agenda in the 1880s and 90s was the interpretation of the clouds. The heat of networking, connecting observatories, was high and the practice of telegraphic meteorology became a minor revolution.

In accordance with my own findings Bremmer describes the intense work going on in Uppsala to make preparations for another *Cloud-Atlas*. Two ladies, Elise Arnberg in Stockholm and Augusta Wigert in Uppsala, were asked to paint pictures to overcome the disadvantages of colourless photos. Now it was their work to produce a series of cloud paintings in oil with photographs as models. Some other paintings had been sent over to Sweden from colleagues in Germany for inspiration, originally aiming for the sea weather service, *Seewarte*. Hildebrandsson travelled to Hamburg in December 1888 to discuss the Swedish pictures. The task was not enviable. It was difficult to produce images so that the cloud shapes, colours and lights became consistent with reality. One should not forget that the clouds are an ever-changing topic, explained one of Hildebrand's friends, Philip Weilbach in Copenhagen.

During the work on the *International Cloud-Atlas* Hildebrandsson discussed the names of the clouds with Ralph Abercromby, president of the Royal Meteorological Society in London. Abercromby had made two trips around the world to take photos of clouds. The purpose was to answer the question whether clouds represented the same shapes and forms all over the World. After the last journey in 1886, he went directly to Uppsala to meet Hildebrandsson. They found that clouds were all the same. There were the following basic cloud forms with their Latin names: cirrus, cirrostratus, cirrocumulus, stratocirrus, cumulocirrus, stratocumulus, cumulus, cumulonimbus, nimbus and stratus. The names had been in use in Uppsala since the mid-1860s and were based on Luke Howard's scheme.

Surely the coming *Cloud-Atlas* would trigger a deluge of comments, both positive and negative. As I see it, paintings could of course be criticized as the outcome of subjective eyes and an affective identity. A photograph was neutral, objective and scientific. The Uppsala photographer Henri Osti, who moved to Sweden from Germany and was well known in academic circles, provided him with photos.

Professor Hildebrandsson's *Cloud-Atlas*, published in cooperation with the German scientists Neumayer and Köppen 1890, was presented to the international expertise at a meeting in Munich in 1891 and the coloured paintings were received with enthusiasm. The participants decided that the cloud nomenclature should be the international standard for the whole earth.

The reason why Bremmer decided to deepen his interpretation of this part of meteorological history might be explained by his genuine interest in the history of photography. Bremmer defended his thesis recently, *Konsten att tämja en bild: Fotografiet och läsarens uppmärksamhet i 1800-talets Sverige* (2015) (The art of taming a picture: The photograph and the reader's attention in nineteenth-century Sweden). Part of the thesis also involves Professor Hildebrandsson and his experiences of cloud photography that are presented in this volume.

My own studies cover the ethnology of clouds and winds. Preliminary results are presented in *Rig* (2014, vol. 97:4) and *Kulturella perspektiv* (2015/3–4). I can identify shortcomings in Bremmer's article, things he did not see in the archives, but also clearly recognize a qualified researcher. His article is well-written and a valuable piece of scientific history. I appreciate his systematic thoughts and impressive interpretations.

I have often referred to the laboratory metaphor in my lectures. It is a pedagogical metaphor that has much to say about ethnological creativeness. The editors of the volume, *University as M*, pick up the same thread and focus on new media, digital humanities and laboratories. The result is a valuable mirror of media and ethnological studies and moreover, I would strongly recommend it to young researchers in the humanities.

Gösta Arvastson, Uppsala

The Gender of Violence

Gabriella Nilsson & Inger Lövkrona, Våldets kön. Kulturella föreställningar, funktioner och konsekvenser. Studentlitteratur, Lund 2015. 218 pp. ISBN 978-91-44-09360-4.

■ In this book on "The Gender of Violence: Cultural Ideas, Functions and Consequences", Gabriella Nilsson and Inger Lövkrona convincingly argue that violence is a phenomenon that ought to be studied from the angles of history, cultural analysis, and feminist theory. The authors raise questions such as:

How is violence understood in different historical, societal, and cultural contexts? What functions does violence have on the structural level and for particular individuals? What consequences does violence have for its victims? How is violence sanctioned and what kinds of violence are criminalized?

The authors, who are both ethnologists, have done research on violence in a long historical perspective (Lövkrona) and with a contemporary approach (Nilsson). The book focuses on violence as a cultural construction and as a learned cultural behaviour. At the same time, the authors emphasize that violence has a material and bodily foundation. The central perspective in the book is that violence is regarded as a gendered phenomenon. Men and women are victims and perpetrators of different types of violence, in different arenas, and to different extents. The common denominator for different violent acts is that the vast majority of the perpetrators are men: men exercise violence against women, against other men, and against themselves. Men's violence against women is the main focus of the book, but the authors add nuance to that picture in the light of recent gender research, for instance by including an intersectional perspective where social categories such as age, ethnicity/race, class, and sexuality are viewed as being associated with gendered ideas about violence.

The authors analyse violence by proceeding from their own and other researchers' texts. Their approach to violence resembles that of discourse analysis, although they do not use the term discourse. How do definitions and interpretations change over time? Who argues, why, and on what basis? What discursive shifts do we see in the argumentation? The approach is similar to that of the political scientist Carol Bacchi (1999), "What is the problem represented to be?", where different types of policy issues (for example drugs, immigration, or equality) are studied on the basis of a critical analysis of how the problem is represented in the political debate.

An important message in the book is that the terms we use about violence are never neutral. They arose in a specific context, often as a result of an active political stance. *Våldets kön* is particularly interesting for anyone who wants to read about the politicization of the gender issue and the development of research on violence in Sweden since the 1990s. The book analyses how the concept of gender power gained ground in research, social debate, and politics. Vigorous (radical) feminist research on violence emerged as part of the gender-power theory and became highly significant for the political understanding of violence. The designation "men's violence against women" was launched as a reaction to gender-neutral concepts such as "family violence", which was criticized for making the role of the perpetrator invisible, and with it the gender-power relationship in the couple and in society. But the book also shows that there is by no means a hegemonic outlook on partner violence in Sweden. There have been great differences of opinion in violence studies – which Anne-Lie Steen (2003) has aptly called a "discursive battlefield".

Gender-power analysis, according to the authors' analysis, had a strong position in Swedish research and politics up to the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century. Then came what the book calls a "backlash", which the authors associate with a general anti-feminist turn in society. What this backlash entailed remains unclear, however, at least for this reader. One form of critique against the radical feminist understanding of violence came from practitioners in the field of violence, who claimed that the gender-power theory portrayed women as passive victims and made their resistance and their agency invisible. There was also criticism of the fact that social measures were almost exclusively geared to women, while children who experience violence in the family, for example, are easily forgotten, as are the perpetrators of violence.

The perpetrators – the majority of whom are men – receive considerable attention in the book, but the question of what should be done with them could have been discussed in more detail. Is it men's attitudes to women and to violence that we must change, and if so how? Is it therapy that is needed? What type of treatment? How are we to understand male violence – that the perpetrators are "deviants" or "typical" representatives of the male sex?

The authors say that the critics are partly right in that the gender-power perspective excludes certain types of violence and groups of victims and perpetrators of violence, and they state that the term "violence in close relations" was introduced to capture the violence that takes place in same-sex couples. From a Norwegian perspective I would argue that the change of term was at least partly due to a desire to include the violence that children are exposed to,

and also to be able to study violence in a life-course perspective.

Female activists have expressed concern that gender-neutral terms obscure the fact that serious systematic partner violence mainly affects women. This critique is both understandable and justified, yet I think that broader and more inclusive terms need not necessarily mean that one is blind to the gendered character of violence, or that one ignores a structural understanding of partner violence. Research in recent years, from having looked for an overall explanation for the occurrence of violence, has begun to develop more complex frameworks for understanding it. I think that this is under-communicated in the book. Interpersonal violence arises in interaction between factors at the societal level, in the immediate environment, in the couple, in the family, and at the individual level. In addition to gender there are crucial risk factors and vulnerabilities, such as class background, social marginalization, addiction problems, and the perpetrator's exposure to violence in childhood, which can shed light on differences in the prevalence of violence in different groups in society. There is a definite need for continued dialogue between different theoretical traditions. Feminist research on violence has a given place here, but perspectives based on psychology and health studies are needed too. In any case, violence studies with a gender perspective today are not exclusively about structural gender relations, but can also include interactionist and constructivist approaches ("doing gender").

In the introductory reflections the authors express surprise that Sweden, which is at the top of every international quality index, has such a high occurrence of violence against women and "the largest number of reported rapes in the world" (p. 8). Here they also claim that violence is increasing rather than decreasing in Sweden. As a social scientist I reacted to the uncritical treatment of statistics in this part of the book. A little later (p. 45), admittedly, this is nuanced. Here the authors emphasize that available studies of the frequency of violence display great variations and methodological differences, that the actual extent of violence is difficult to measure, and that it is not easy to compare the situation in different countries. What is perceived as violence varies, likewise the way of registering violence and the tendency to report violence. With more careful editing of the book it would have been possible to avoid this inconsistency in the content. Another unnecessary flaw is the failure to distinguish between the European Union and the Council of Europe in the discussion of the Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, known as the Istanbul Convention (p. 39).

The book emphasizes that an intersectional perspective on violence is important, but in practice the discussion of ethnicity is confined to honour-related violence. A broader analysis of the significance of ethnicity would have been desirable. There is some evidence that young men with an immigrant background are over-represented in the statistics as regards assault rapes; immigrant women may be particularly venerable to domestic violence; and corporal punishment of children is fairly common in some immigrant families. Explanations for the phenomenon certainly include other factors than just ethnicity, such as socio-economic factors and marginalization. For that reason in particular, this discussion is far too important to be left to immigration critics and right-wing populists.

The outlook on violence in society as a whole, in research as well, displays a lack of history that makes it harder for us to understand the mechanisms behind violence and thus to prevent and deal with violence. It is important that humanists and cultural researchers take part in research in a field that requires a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach, but which has hitherto been dominated by researchers in social and health sciences. The book is based on rich and varied material and has a problematizing, open, and critical approach to important aspects of gendered violence as a cultural and historical phenomenon. Despite my critical remarks, I regard *Våldets kön* as a very welcome contribution to Nordic research on violence.

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Cultural Heritage

Crafting Cultural Heritage. Anneli Palmsköld, Johanna Rosenqvist & Gunnar Almevik (eds.). Department of Conservation, University of Gothenburg 2016. 117 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-981406-3-7.

■ *Crafting Cultural Heritage* presents five papers given to the Association of Critical Heritage Studies inaugural conference, 'Re/theorising Heritage',

Gothenburg, 2012. Rosenqvist's 'Introduction' notes conference participants were urged to 'avoid site- and artefact-based definitions of heritage in a traditional sense', whilst Laurien's paper helpfully suggests we view cultural heritage not as 'a neat little parcel with a distinct addressee, but rather [as] something constructed in the present in order to serve a variety of reasons.' In this sense all heritage is 'cultural' since social processes are always involved in designating artefacts, practices, landscapes, geological features or whatever, 'heritage'. Laurien's claim that 'cultural heritage acts as resources that individuals and groups use more or less consciously in their quests for identity and struggles for power', and Rosenqvist's suggestion that 'what is to become official heritage or not is a choice made in highly professionally institutional and political settings', signal the first of the collection's two main themes – i.e. how and why craft [or art] heritage is constructed. The second key concern is how traditional craft skills can be documented, transmitted and preserved. The word 'craft' has various connotations. 'To craft' refers to making or shaping – in various languages the terms for 'craft' and 'power' are cognate, whilst 'crafty' can mean clever or shrewd. Sennett in his seminal *The Craftsman* defines the latter as someone dedicated to producing good work – of whatever kind – for its own sake. But in this collection craft principally relates to what is made by hand – raising the question of how the artisanal can survive once industrialisation and now automation, arrives.

Three of the papers are by Swedish authors, appropriate given Sweden's history of strong concern with heritage – often in tension with a modernising ethos. 'Craft, Crochet and Heritage' and 'Pleasure/Unpleasure: Performing Cultural Heritage: voices from the artistic practice of *Shibori* in Sweden', by Palmsköld and Laurien respectively, focus on the first of the collection's themes. Referencing different kinds of hand-worked textiles, in different periods, they provide examples of how positive value and heritage status is awarded or denied. In each instance, cultural gatekeepers or entrepreneurs award status within what Bourdieu [strangely never mentioned by either author] would call a 'field' of opposing practices and practitioners. Palmsköld investigates the influential Home Craft Movement/*Hemslöjdsrörelse* in the late 19th and early 20th century denying crochet the value and heritage status it afforded hand-weaving, peasant embroidering and lacemaking. These it tried to foster by collecting exemplary old work and making materials, tools and updated patterns available through its shops devoted to well designed and approved craft products. Crochet – an entirely un-mechanised technique – met the handicraft criterion but was nonetheless condemned by the largely middle-class founders of the Home Craft Movement and others of their ilk, because of various problematic characteristics of the product, its production and producers. It was a modern, cosmopolitan practice, condemned in a particularly nationalistic period as lacking traditional roots in local Swedish culture. Defined as 'easy', insufficiently disciplined, favoured, particularly in the early 20th century, by low status individuals – maids, lower-class women, even children, it was deemed aesthetically unattractive. Ellen Key, advocate of tasteful functionality thought the 'dead white blotches' of crocheted dust covers, tablecloths etc. made rooms look like drying attics. Despite this rejection of crochet as heritage, today there seems some softening of the stand against it. Palmsköld finds people now rescuing crocheted goods from flea markets, appreciating the time and skill they embody even though unsure what to do with them. Interestingly she suggests that crochet may be becoming one technique among others, escaping the old heirarchisation. The HCM's website currently advertises a how-to-do-it book *Virka!* [Crochet!].

Laurien shows how today's new Swedish practitioners of *Shibori* – a method of folding, pressing, stitching then dying fabric to pattern cloth, seek positively to distinguish their product by favourable comparison with the *knytbatik*/tie-dye particularly favoured by 1960s hippies. Invoking tie-dye allows practitioners to explain their activity to uninitiated others – 'it's a bit like *knytbatik'* – but also to claim *Shibori's* elevation. Again the disfavoured form is presented as aesthetically unattractive, unprofessional, slovenly, requiring little skill [you can buy kits to do it]. *Shibori* is seen as complex and skilled, 'full of creative possibilities and challenges'. Results are planned, not random – although an element of unpredictability is often valued. Photos suggest a more disciplined colour palette than the hippies' psychedelic outbursts. Lack of traditional Swedish roots counted against crochet. But *Shibori* gains cachet from being a traditional Japanese technique, given that country's high status in the world of arts

and crafts. 'Foreigners making authentic crafts with their authentic techniques far off the tourist trails – which the artist can study and appreciate professionally', says Laurien, can constitute a positive 'Other' in terms of which to construct identity – in contrast to the negative 'Other' provided by the low status children, housewives, amateurs and hobbyists who perpetrate tie-dye. High status, internationally-known practitioners like Issey Miyake whose pleated textiles innovatively develop traditional crafts, provide another version of the positive 'Other'.

Whilst Palmsköld documents how a high status category external to the crocheters evaluated their craft, it is the Swedish *Shiborists* themselves who claim high status. Mainly female, with various kinds of formal art education and some at least sufficiently well off to make study visits to Japan, they currently constitute a 'critical mass' of about fifty and are beginning to institutionalise themselves through lectures, courses, exhibitions and the 2010 founding of *Svenska Shiborisällskapet* [the Swedish Shibori Society]. 'Many of the artists who have added *Shibori* to their artistic repertoire', says Laurien, 'should be considered as belonging to an elite'. That *Shibori* is referred to as an 'artistic practice' and the *Svenska Shiborisällskap* website declares its intention 'to facilitate the development of *Shibori* in Sweden as an art form at a high artistic level', may also be a status claim. A little disappointingly, neither Laurien nor any other contributor specifically discusses the art/craft relation [though Rosenqvist has interestingly considered this elsewhere]. They don't mention how some post-Enlightenment European cultures have positively associated 'art' with distinctively individual creativity and intellectual concerns, and 'craft', less favourably, with 'mere' bodily skills. This probably helps explain why, as Palmsköld does note, craft work has often been linked to collective rather than individual knowledge and old craft items can seldom be traced to a specific maker. Today when 'fine' artists talk about their work's 'authenticity' they are generally asserting it as a genuine expression of their own personality, feelings and beliefs, whilst the contemporary art world prizes originality and innovation highly. Craft workers may, but need not be, original and when they claim authenticity for their product they are more likely to be making claims for its conformity with established genres or techniques. Such a distinction might link to Laurien's suggestion that ideas of 'ownership' of cultural heritage can be problematic for artists 'who have tended to see everything as available for their use and reuse as they feel fit.' His introductory anecdote in which a fine art graduate, finding that a textile designer considers *knytbatik* to be the ugliest thing he knows, thereupon decides to use it in his work, illustrates the low regard in which tie-die is held. But it also suggests art's high status allows it to use 'low' forms deliberately, perhaps provocatively, ironically or even in a hierarchy-challenging way, without threatening its own elevated position.

The British contributor, Donovan, defines herself as an artist, combining practice and research. Her article ['Sexuality, Deathliness and Chocolate: talking, making and performing Nottingham's lace heritage] describes three art works she 'performed' relating to Nottingham's 'almost extinct' lace industry. All aimed to get the works' audiences to talk about lace and the city's historic involvement in its manufacture – by putting lace-made items on market stalls in the town and at a festival for Goths, making chocolate lace patterns at the tourist office, and collaborating with local university staff and students to produce a lace-inspired costume for a burlesque performance at Nottingham's museum. Whilst Palmsköld and Laurien document the comparatively well placed and powerful defining some kinds of product and activity as more valuable than others [historically the norm for the heritage industry], Donovan usefully reminds us that heritage may be contested, that it can have official and unofficial versions, involving grander and 'smaller' narratives. It is the latter, 'mundane but nevertheless rich personal stories', her art interventions were intended to elicit. Unlike the more standard 'oral history' approaches to capturing such memories, however, Donovan only sought to evoke and not to record responses – even though some participants feared their experiences would be forgotten. Rosenqvist says this research offers a 'co-participatory, multivocal epistemology of heritage'. But whilst we might welcome Donovan's suggestion that heritage be treated as a 'responsive' and 'multi-perspectival' concept, her claim that what it comprises should be 'decided *by* the individual *for* the individual and from the individual's point of view', unwarrantably rules out 'performing' it as a collective project. Aren't hegemonic heritagizing strategies of the dominant more likely to be effectively challenged collectively than on an individual basis? Why be in-

terested in how lace relates to the Goth *subculture* if it is only individual views that matter?

The remaining two papers, by Almevik, a founder of the University of Gothenburg's Craft Laboratory, and the Italians Lupo and Giunta, consider how craft skills can be documented, preserved and transmitted to new generations of producers. 'From Archive to Living Heritage: participatory documentation in crafts' and 'Contemporary Authentic: a design-driven strategy for activating intangible heritage and craft knowledge', share common themes but with differences of emphasis. Almevik [like Palmsköld] notes the early Swedish heritage museum professionals' focus on collecting and preserving material artefacts threatened by an industrialising society. He contrasts this with the increased contemporary concern with how such products were made – both as something of interest in itself [as Intangible Cultural Heritage] and as required for building restoration work. The Italians' project, whose presentation is sometimes difficult to follow, seems more concerned with retaining and developing the craft tradition for city and regional economic development, including as part of a place-marketing 'tourism offer'. With echoes of the Home Craft Movement's '*Svensk Slöjd*' trademark for goods sold in their shops, they want to establish 'Contemporary Authentic Milano' as a 'recognisable brand' for craft products, with its own quality certification system marketable at trade fairs and elsewhere. They call their strategy for 'activating' craft knowledge, 'design-driven'. This could mean that it is the *strategy* that is designed, in the sense of being carefully worked out and composed of interlocking elements. But it is also design-driven in that it aims to mobilise a modern design aesthetic to make old craft skills relevant today. A goal was 'to design new and innovative contemporary authentic products and processes based on heritage', and they have devised an 'authenticity/innovation matrix' which grades various 'material' and 'immaterial' aspects of a product on a scale from 'very traditional' to 'very innovative'.

Both the Swedish and the Italian projects involve attempts to document traditional craft processes as knowledge which can be passed on to new practitioners. But at least as presented in these papers, it is the Craft Laboratory that is the most self-reflective and sophisticated about the difficulties of doing this. It is also particularly invested in seeing practitioners as co-participants in its research. Almevik speaks of craftsmanship as 'knowing in action', querying how what is known implicitly, particularly tactile, embodied knowledge, can be made explicit. How can those who have spent many hours practicing skills, aspects of which they now mobilise 'without thinking', pass these on to others? And how far can, for example, a museum professional claim to have 'real' knowledge of a craft in which they are unskilled? Through considering the inadequacies of some existing examples of filmed craft processes and by working with current craft practitioners to produce new videos and other documentation of their activity, Almevik considers what might be appropriate techniques to capture exactly what the craftsperson needs to know and do to perform their craft. But although he found craftsmen struggling when trying to write about their practice, often asking whom they should consider as their audience for their efforts, he himself pays little attention to how variations in people's backgrounds, experiences and existing competences might affect how they should be taught. How much can be taken for granted depends on whom you are informing. And appropriate metaphors ['get it to the consistency of batter' for example] may vary by audience. I suggest there is no 'one size fits all' kind of documentation and that even the already well informed might benefit from a 'triangulated' form of knowledge collection and transfer.

Besides their attempts to document craft workers in action, both the Swedish and Italian researchers arranged sessions in which more senior workers engaged with their juniors. But although Lupo and Giunta called their week-long workshops *Bottehga* after the workplaces where Renaissance masters worked with their apprentices, neither they, nor Almevik provide much information on the various ways in which different craft skills were traditionally learned across the generations. What kinds of direct teaching were there, how far were initiates expected to pick things up simply by watching or by trial and error? Could what worked well in the past have any relevance today? The broader context in which craft workers are located then and now is relevant here. It certainly also needs considering by those who hope not just to preserve knowledge of craft skills as heritage, but to facilitate 'craft-worker' being a viable occupation today. A strength of Contemporary Authentic is that it doesn't just list

Milan's 'endangered masters' and document the skills they possess but also tries to map their networks of relations. These extend beyond those with any direct co-workers, to relations with material suppliers, other enterprises, art institutions and the general public. That connections can be of different kinds – 'reproductive', 'sharing', 'communicative', is recognised. So is their different spatial reach, although ones which have become embedded in the local region are of particular interest. However, there is no clear discussion of why Milan's historically strong tradition of independent craft working is under threat, nor exactly how changes of network relations might be implicated in this. Almevik also provides only a few glimpses of his contemporary craft workers' external relations. He suggests many feel rather isolated, with small firms unable to rely on family traditions worrying about their ability to obtain already skilled workers whilst hesitating to risk the costs of training novices. They experience fitting in with the formal, rationalised protocols of contemporary building and restoration projects problematic, finding that 'traditional techniques and materials are being outcompeted by new industrial products because they cannot prove the qualities and formal eligibility of their way of doing things'. Where they do get work they often have to cede their autonomous design and planning decision-making to, for example, heritage professionals. An experiment in which plasterers on one restoration site set up a blog documenting and explaining their daily activities is praised for allowing the hands-on workers to communicate with their managers, suppliers and building consultants, facilitating a less top-down, more dialogic, relationship between them. That digital technology skills are important for documenters and disseminators of craft heritage is evident in several of the papers.

As I have begun to suggest, we need to understand the difficulties craft-workers presently face if we want to support craft-working as an occupation. Without subsidy [for which being labelled as 'heritage' may be all important] or without additional income from teaching their craft skills to others, the craft-worker has to make products people want, at prices they can afford and are prepared to pay. Apart from nostalgic interest, goods meeting needs that no longer exist or for which manufactured alternatives are more effective, are unlikely to be popular. High production costs can also make handmade products problematically expensive, requiring those who can afford to buy them to be willing to pay a premium for their craftedness, uniqueness or such like. Even with a market, craft-workers are dependent on the continued availability of tools and materials and access to affordable premises for their work – which urban redevelopment often threatens. In the longer term they also need to be able to attract, train and retain new workers.

This is a thought-provoking collection raising as many questions as it answers. It made me want to ask about national differences in orientation to craft and craft heritage and to formal and informal art/craft/design education. It made me wonder about the possible independence of preconditions for preserving the continued production of specific craft *products,* specific craft *techniques,* and the safeguarding of the traditional role of *craft worker.* As Traditional Authentic shows, heritage techniques can be used to make new products. But the craft-worker role could also be occupied by someone using innovative techniques and materials to make non-traditional items. Are we more interested in safeguarding, the practice of making things by hand, or specific craft processes and products? Do we necessarily have to make this choice? Palmsköld and Laurien suggest amateurs tend to be disvalued by professional art/craft workers. But given the contemporary difficulties of supporting oneself solely through handicraft production, challenging the professional/amateur distinction might be a good move. Encouraging and developing the competencies and commitments of those presently designated amateurs might help save old crafts and increase appreciation of the efforts and skills which hand-produced goods embody – something which could benefit those seeking to sell them. It could also allow more people to experience the pleasures of making things by hand.

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History of the Roma in Finland

De finska romernas historia från svenska tiden till 2000-talet. Panu Pulma (ed.). Skrifter utgivna av Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, SLS & Atlantis, Helsingfors & Stockholm 2015. 503 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-951-583-338-9 & 978-91-7353-835-0.

■ This book contains an impressive collection of research about the history of the Roma in Finland

from the sixteenth century to the present day. It has its origin in a large research project initiated by the Finnish Roma organizations. The research has been conducted in close cooperation between the academic community and the Roma organizations. The editor of the book, Panu Pulma, professor of history at Helsinki University, has also led the research project together with a representative of the Roma organizations. Those employed in the research project have been historians, social scientists, and an ethnomusicologist. The authors declare that it is unthinkable that the history of a minority can be written in any reliable way without their participation, and trustful cooperation has therefore been established with Roma organizations. This has been an essential condition for the work. Several Roma have also written contributions of their own, giving them a distinct voice throughout the book. Personal experiences and the strong oral tradition that is characteristic of the Roma thus set their stamp on the whole account. The most valuable thing about the book, however, is that the history of the Roma is not described from a victim position but from a position where the group takes part in active interplay with the rest of society. Questions are asked about how the Roma have affected the development of society and, conversely, how society has forced them to adapt and reformulate traditions and cultural expressions.

Research and descriptions concerning the history of minorities should not be presented as something out of the ordinary but, as is done here, as a part of the shared history of a society. Moreover, it is emphasized here, as ought to be self-evident, that a minority is not a uniform group; it can contain a multitude of different traditions, identities, and cultural expressions. The point of departure for this research is that the Roma and other inhabitants of the Nordic countries have had a shared history in the last five hundred years, while it is simultaneously underlined that the Roma are a larger international ethnic minority.

The main focus here is on the interaction between Roma and the rest of society, and how this has changed both. Groups like the Roma have rarely left any written sources to express their own standpoints and perceptions, and that has also affected this research, chiefly in the account of the early history. On the other hand, there is a rich source of knowledge to draw on: the oral traditions of the Roma, gathered in the folklife archives since the nineteenth century.

The authors are exemplary in the way they avoid using today's terms and outlooks, instead trying to find the history in its own particular time. This means that designations such as *Roma*, *tattare*, and *zigenare* are problematized in an interesting way, which also clarifies societal conditions and the zeitgeist of the era concerned. A good approach is to use the terminology of the primary sources in order to show whose outlook is reflected and whose voice is heard in the context. At the same time as the authors criticize the use of sources presenting descriptions by authorities and officials, however, they themselves have also been forced to use them. They describe it as a special problem that they have chiefly encountered those who, as a result of various deviations from the norm, came into contact with public authorities; they emphasize that they have not reached what they call "assimilated" people because they were not in contact with the authorities. Here, as elsewhere, one therefore wonders what the authors actually think is typical and constitutive of the group. If one is "assimilated" and does not live in the manner of the Roma, is one then a Roma?

Flexibility and change in traditions and customs is emphasized throughout in an exemplary fashion. It is all about the history of the Roma in Finland, but linked to Roma in other Nordic countries, and here Sweden plays a major part in different ways. It is pointed out that the reason some families and individuals are used as examples is quite simply that there is source material which makes this possible, rather than that they are particularly interesting.

The book is divided into three large parts, the first of which is a chronological account in four chapters of the history of the Roma from the sixteenth century to the Second World War.

In the very first chapter the doctoral student Tuula Rekola fills over eighty interesting pages with a solid survey of the early Roma history from the sixteenth century to the Second World War. This section is one of the best in the book, based on extensive research in the sources, not least of all the court records. In some places, however, the description is slightly problematic, as when she states that a person was not released from prison on the grounds of being a Roma, whereas in fact the reason was that the person was a vagrant. The laws against vagrancy in the eighteenth century were very strict. A discus-

sion here about the relationship between vagrancy and ethnic affiliation would have been interesting. On the other hand, the author gives us a nuanced account of the debate in the eighteenth century about taking Roma children into care. But in the descriptions of the enlistment of soldiers, the Roma are shown in a poor light, when it is stated that the crown recruited the cheapest people possible and that the Roma either joined the army in that capacity or were forcibly recruited because of their vagrancy.

All through the book one can see that the Roma ran into difficulty because of the vagrancy laws, since they had no fixed employment, but there is no discussion of why they did not adapt. Was the freedom of the road such an important part of their way of life? And did the Roma way of life thereby conflict with society's norms and laws? How did this affect the laws, and how did it affect the lifestyle? The analysis could have been clearer here. The itinerant way of life is described but not discussed. Moreover, there ought to have been room for a discussion of whether social status should be related to the Roma identity or to the association with occupations and jobs of low social status. There is a risk of circular reasoning here. An example would be the description of the "tinker" (*tattare*) who became a vicar. What does this description say about the Roma affiliation? Does the author think that being Roma is more than a way of life, a set of customs and traditions? If a person has left all that behind, has he or she ceased to be Roma? The important question of what is Roma is not considered. How does one become a Roma and how does one retain or leave this identity? Is it something different from a social and cultural affiliation? But these questions should not cast a shadow on a great research achievement and a fine presentation by Rekola. In the description of Carl Palm just a few pages after we have met the vicar, it immediately gets better.

This introduction is followed by a more analytical chapter by the postdoctoral researcher Miika Tervonen. Under the heading "Vagabonds and boundary transgressors" this discusses the Roma in the emerging nation state, and it also provides something of a background to the chapters later in the book where Tervonen discusses changes in recent times.

After these two opening chapters, which are the heaviest, there are two short sections, more like essays, one about religious revival, the other about the evacuation of the Karelian Roma during the war. There was a large Roma population in the Karelian peninsula, amounting to one third of all Finland's Roma; they were the ones who experienced the greatest changes. The war years are described in contradictory terms. There was a kind of positive spirit of brother-in-arms which Roma felt at the front, giving them a positive Finnish identity. Yet at the same time, repression and discrimination at home helped to strengthen the Roma identity with its isolation and exclusion.

In the second part of the book, entitled "Towards real citizenship", Miika Tervonen discusses the major change in the situation of the Roma in Finland from the end of the Second World War until today in seven short chapters. From the 1950s many of the traditional occupations of the Roma declined in significance. Horse trading and craft work became less and less important. Some Roma then switched to car dealing and trading in factory-made goods. The horseman culture had an upswing in the 1970s, however, with the growth of harness racing. It is also noted here that poor relief and other social security benefited the Roma, but not at all to the extent that they were entitled to. For example, they did not dare to ask for help, for fear that the authorities would take their children into care. The deeper analytical chapters in this part are interleaved with short biographical accounts, such as the story of the best-known Roma author in Finland, Veijo Baltzar, the musician and debater Rainer Friman, the musician Aale Lindgren, and the debater Miranda Vuolasranta.

One chapter clarifies what the new age has involved: a development from social-policy refugees to a national minority. Many Roma migrated to Sweden in the 1960s and 1970s and found work there. It is gratifying to note that informants in several interviews say that they found Sweden a more open country with a more tolerant atmosphere where people did not care "whether you were a gypsy or not" (p. 204).

There are short chapters describing the work with children by the Gypsy Mission, the role of the church, and the international connections of Finland's Roma policy. When the mission later became the Roma's own organization with one of their own people managing the activities, it changed direction more towards efforts against substance abuse and work with young people, but also things such as vio-

lin teaching and the production of information brochures about Roma culture.

In a final short chapter in part two, Miika Tervonen considers the situation of EU migrants and discusses stereotypes and prejudices now that Roma from Romania and Bulgaria have come to Helsinki to beg. As an explanation for their situation in the home countries he cites the new aggressive nationalism, the drastic privatization coupled with unemployment as a consequence of the new economy, for which the Roma are made into scapegoats. As long as the problems in the home countries are not solved, they will go on begging in cities like Helsinki because it gives them much better chances of survival.

The third part of the book is about how their language and culture have changed. The head of research in Roma Studies at Södertörn University, Kimmo Granqvist, begins by describing the history of the Romany language in Finland from the Middle Ages to the present day, when there is a blend of different Romany dialects.

Risto Blomster, researcher at the folklore archive of the Finnish Literature Society, devotes a chapter to a detailed description of Roma music, starting with the gypsy romanticism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, via orchestral music and the role of Roma musicians in dance music, to the world of Roma singers. The rich material in Finnish folklore archives enables a multifaceted description. Several Roma artistes and orchestras are given separate presentations.

Anna Maria Viljanen, associate professor of anthropological psychology, surveys changes in Roma women's dress through descriptions by outsiders and by means of interviews with the Roma women themselves. And Marko Stenroos describes the dress traditions of Roma men and above all boys.

Among Roma handicraft we find crochet work, paper flowers, embroidery, and various kinds of utility objects, but most beautiful of all is the Roma jewellery.

In the excellent short chapter by the doctoral student Marko Stenroos that rounds off this thick book, a positive image of the many faces of the Roma reminds us how easily stereotypes can be attached to people and how important it is to see that Roma too live in the border zone between Finnish and Roma identities and that all kinds of belonging are mixtures. But above all it is made clear here that changes in society have enabled social mobility both within and between different groups. Ethnicity is created and experienced both inwardly and outwardly, that is, how you perceive yourself and how you are perceived by others. Often we need clear categories while simultaneously we find it difficult to decide how to relate to those who want to remain outside the categories or change them.

To conclude, I would say that the most interesting texts in the book are those by Miika Tervonen, who describes, discusses, and analyses the situation of the Roma, for example, in the emerging nation state, and their changed situation during the war. These long chapters are significant for understanding other parts of the book.

A detailed list of sources and a full bibliography with an index of persons strengthens the impression of a solid research report. Yet this is not just a dry and matter-of-fact presentation; on the contrary, the reader is given a vibrant, colourful, and easy-to-read account. The rich illustrations further enhance this.

A review of such a full book as this can only be a quick survey, but I hope that it will attract anyone interested in sharing a truly multifaceted presentation of the history of a minority, the Roma in Finland. But here one can also see how to write interesting history with great historical depth, even in a field where the sources are highly inaccessible or one-sided, as is often the case with groups on the margin of society. To sum up, the book has given me many nuanced pictures of the situation of the Roma in Finnish society over a period of more than five centuries.

Birgitta Svensson, Stockholm

Islands and Islandness

Owe Ronström, Öar och öighet. Introduktion till östudier. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2016. 312 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7331-790-0.

■ The title, *Öar och öighet: Introduktion till östudier*, leaves no doubt about the subject matter of the present volume, although "öighet", islandness, might be a term that sounds unfamiliar to some. However, it is a concept the author has been using for quite some time in different contexts, and I can assure any sceptics of this coinage that it makes perfect sense after having read the present volume. On

the other hand, the latter part of the book's title, "Introduction to Island Studies", might be a bit of a misnomer. Naturally, I do not in any way imply that introductions make up a limited or inferior genre of academic literature – far from it. Still, for a work labelled as an introduction it generally suffices to give the background and a review of research and literature for the field in question. Nevertheless, while Ronström's introduction certainly does provide all of this, it also presents new research and perspectives that, in fact, contribute to and advance the field of Island Studies.

The volume consists of sixteen chapters of varying length; some contain longer investigations, examples and discussions, while others are more in the style of philosophical reflections. Together they all provide pieces to the island-puzzle. Parts of the content have been previously published elsewhere, mostly in English-speaking journals. Bringing the texts together in a larger framework makes for interesting juxtapositions and gives greater depth to the overall argument. The study steadily circles in on its theme, switching between macro and micro perspectives. The opening chapters deal with the question of what constitutes an island from the point of view of geography and language. The following chapters address the concept of islandness on a more abstract level by focusing on perceptions, metaphors, images and ideas about islands.

The structure of the book inevitably leads to reoccurring themes and discussions, almost to the point of repetition. However, the attentive reader will appreciate how these returning themes are expanded upon or explored from new angles. For example, the discussion of how centres and peripheries are created and maintained is raised in many of the chapters, but in different contexts and at various points on the concrete-abstract continuum.

Rather than trying to provide a thorough outline of all the chapters I will pick up a few of the threads running through the book. First and foremost: "What is an island?" – The question is posed many times and Ronström gives many answers. What emerges is that, apart from being a geographical circumstance – i.e. a small piece of land surrounded by water – islands are in many cases "what we want them to be". This is when the concept of "islandness" comes in handy. Places and phenomena can be perceived as "islands" through being ascribed certain qualities, images and ideas. A common way of understanding islands is through the lens of duality and dichotomy. As pointed out by Ronström, contemporary Island Studies have tried to question and go beyond these taken-for-granted dichotomies by, for example, adopting a "both-and" view instead of an "either-or" view. Still, a number of conditions seem to be solidly connected with the idea of islands, of which remoteness, clear borders and archaism are among the most entrenched.

Another interesting discussion concerns the connecting of islands and mainlands through bridges. What does a bridge do to an island? And what happens with the "quintessential" island qualities of separateness, inaccessibility and remoteness? Island bridge-building projects have often been the source of heated debates and strong emotions. However, looking at the consequences of "bridge-building" for islands from a global perspective there is no definite or predicable outcome – the ramifications might be positive or negative, the effects insignificant or momentous.

The book is crammed with island facts, to the point that I find myself thinking that I will probably have great use of this volume as an encyclopaedia on everything from statistics on island populations, global distribution of islands and ways of distinguishing between different types of islands in various languages. Firmly standing on an ethnological/folkloristic platform, the author also covers many other disciplinary perspectives such as history, linguistics, mythology, popular culture, geography and philosophy – all in the quest to investigate and reveal our thinking about islands and islandness.

It is generally not common practice for reviewers to turn the focus to their own person in the writing of a review. Nevertheless, in this case I felt oddly compelled to position myself: after, in fact, not having lived on my home island of Åland for over twenty years I still self-identify as an islander. Ronström's discussion of islandness makes me question myself. Perhaps my eagerness to claim islandness for my own part is not just about good academic practice of positioning and declaring one's own biases – it might just as well be about a wish to identify with perceived island qualities? A stance strengthened by, or even born out of, living on the mainland?

I have previously been fairly secure in my knowledge about what an island is. However, after having read Ronström's book (and previous articles on the

same topic) I am no longer so sure. This, to me, is what good research in the humanities and social sciences should do. Rather than presenting facts as static truths, it is about going beyond what is presumed, questioning what we think we know, and introducing new or alternative angles and perspectives.

While reading *Öar och öighet* I was reminded of an oft-quoted excerpt from a poem by the Prince Edward Island born poet Milton Acorn: *To be born on an island's to be sure/You are a native with a habitat/Growing up one's good training/For living in a country, on a planet*. That islands actually are useful for applying to matters beyond themselves is also one of Ronström's central arguments. Islands are "good to think with" – helping us to understand humans and how we construct our world. Consequently, one does not need to be a devoted nesophile (lover of islands) to enjoy and gain insight from *Öar och öighet*.

Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch, Helsinki

Broadsheets from the Margins of Society

Karin Strand, Brott, tiggeri och brännvinets fördärv. Studier i socialt orienterade visor i skillingtryck. Gidlunds förlag, Möklinta 2016. 272 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-78449514.

■ Many of us know "The Ballad of Elvira Madigan"; we sang it in school and learnt about the sad story of the tightrope dancer Elvira and the handsome lieutenant Sixten Sparre, who eloped and committed suicide together. This is a well-known broadsheet ballad about a true event from the late nineteenth century. Karin Strand, a music researcher and archivist at the Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research (Svenskt visarkiv) shows how the broadsheet ballad was an early type of mass media which reached its peak of popularity during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, before the breakthrough of other mass media. The broadsheet was a kind of popular street music that turned up in the sixteenth century when printed literature became available to the public. This leaflet, often a single folded sheet containing songs about recent incidents, could be bought for a Swedish shilling (*skillingtryck*). Being cheap it appealed to a wider audience than the upper classes.

In her book *Brott, tiggeri och brännvinets fördärv – studier i socialt orienterade visor i skillingtryck* (Crimes, begging and destructive liquor – studies about socially oriented broadsheet ballads) Strand analyses three kinds of songs from the nineteenth and early twentieth century: so-called blind songs, songs about crime and criminals, and songs from the temperance movement about alcohol abuse. Furthermore she approaches her data from three different angles: as archival sources, as aesthetic texts of a specific genre and mode, and as versions of events described in other sources.

A blind song is by definition written by a blind person who sold it to help earn his (only a few of the blind authors were women) living. However, the name of the actual author is seldom confirmed, and many of the texts are very similar in both content and structure. The reason why the author has lost his or her sight is often described, for instance "blind from birth" or – as in this detailed description written in old-fashioned Swedish – "A new song about an unlucky wedding where the soldier Johan Palm was shot in the face through a farmer's careless use of a gun, but after a lot of suffering survived and lost his sight."

These ballads show a shift in society from a religious discourse where blindness was seen as God's endurance to an individualistic way of tackling difficulties in life. Strand also describes the way in which the blind have been portrayed in literature throughout the centuries. Often the presence of a disabled person carried a message; someone's deafness led to funny misunderstandings and a blind person was expected to have a greater insight or perhaps special talents, such as being exceptionally musical. Strand also asks how and whether the texts were actually sung, which is an interesting question. Old texts seldom tell us about the way in which they were used after being passed on to a buyer, the only thing left to study is the actual text. The broadsheets were often sung to well-known tunes, and Strand concludes that the blind sellers sometimes sang or read parts of their texts out loud, when trying to sell them.

The second chapter deals with broadsheets about crimes and criminals. Just like the blind songs, these texts show a shift in society from a religious deterministic outlook on life to an early modern approach emphasizing every individual's responsibility for his or her actions. In the early texts, the sinner re-

pents and begs for God's forgiveness. Some of the texts claim to be written by the sinner himself, but Strand questions whether a prisoner, waiting to be executed, would really cry out, "Oh day of death – you hasten, I fear thee!", followed by a long solemn rhyme about his anguish. Thus, the texts were most certainly written by someone else and sold at the time of the trial or execution. Strand then looks at the reality behind the texts in authentic court records and gives detailed descriptions of the criminals, their lives, the events leading up to the crimes and what happened thereafter. This is an exciting insight into some extraordinary life stories!

Finally Strand looks at temperance songs (and prose) about drunkenness. These songs were written in a time when the temperance movement was advancing in Europe and drinking was seen as (and probably was) a growing problem. The texts often focus on the family: poor struggling wives and children, all victims of the husbands/fathers alcoholism. The child in the song symbolizes innocence and vulnerability in contrast to the selfish drunken adult/man. These themes also appear in oral narratives, such as drinking narratives, where a drunken man or father in front of an innocent child shows the contrast between good and bad, innocence and guilt. In drinking narratives, as in the sobriety songs, the drunkard sometimes stops drinking when hitting rock-bottom. A common theme in the temperance songs is a drunken father turning sober after the death of his neglected child. The ethnologist Christian Richette ("Frälsta alkoholisters livsberättelser", in Anders Gustavsson (ed.), *Alkoholister och nykterister*, 1991) has studied the life stories of sober alcoholics. As in the ballads, the turning point from drunkenness to sobriety is emphasized as a major event. Other similarities between the broadsheets and other genres of folklore are also apparent, for instance the fixed textual structures that appear in the ballads as well as in legends and life stories.

The final chapter sums up by discussing the way in which the broadsheets show voices from the outskirts of society. Some texts show a closeness to the leading character of the ballad; the author might even be the main character him/herself! Sometimes there is a distance to the characters in the ballads, like the descriptions of criminals. Some of the songs claim to describe a true event, others are clearly fictional. Strand also discusses the intertextual influences from different kinds of written texts and from the surrounding society. However, the influence of the wide range of oral narratives is not mentioned, an approach that would have deepened the analysis. A disturbing detail is the way in which the author avoids writing in the first person**,** but rather uses "we" when describing how she proceeds in her analysis, which makes the text feel a bit "educational". Why not use the word "I" when describing what you intend to do in the following text?

All in all *Brott, tiggeri och brännvinets fördärv* is an interesting and comprehensive book that can be read by anyone. Karin Strand provides many well- chosen and sometimes amusing quotations from the broadsheets as well as interesting facts about the lives of those who are presented in the texts. I also enjoyed all the pictures of the broadsheets and their contents. It gives insight into the world behind the ballads, some of which are still sung today.

Susanne Waldén, Huddinge

Sámi Perspectives

Visions of Sápmi. Anna Lydia Svalastog and Gunlög Fur (eds.). Arthub Publisher, Røros 2015. 200 pp. Ill.

■ *Visions of Sápmi* is a richly illustrated anthology about representations of Sápmi and its inhabitants in art, literature, maps, scholarship, history, etc. Contributors are members of a group of scholars, *Riekkis*, who initiated the idea of the anthology. The volume consists of an introduction and seven chapters, which are briefly summarized here.

In the first chapter, Anna Lydia Svalastog of Østfold University College writes about Sámi and colonial perspectives on mapping. Her chapter provides an overview of Sámi history in Sweden and in Norway, and it takes maps published and re-distributed in major publications about the Sámi and/or by Sámi scholars as a point of departure. Svalastog's contribution gives an interesting reading of maps of Sápmi in relation to each other, and it illustrates variations of perspectives and ideologies across time and disciplines. The chapter ends with relevant suggestions for what maps of Sápmi should imply, but it would have benefited by including examples of recent maps – for instance those that include winter

grazing areas or that place the North at the center by configuring Europe as upside down compared to traditional maps, which problematize the Eurocentric perspective.

The second chapter, written by Mikael Svonni of the University of Tromsø, examines texts and illustrations by Johan Turi, who was canonized as the first Sámi author with his book *Muittalus samid birra* (1910), which was the first of its kind in North Sámi. While Turi's narrative technique has been the topic of previous studies (for instance Cocq, Coppélie 2008 and DuBois, Thomas 2010), less attention has been paid to his detailed illustrations.

Professional film and music maker Runar Enberg's chapter is an ethnographic documentation in stories and pictures of the contemporary life of reindeer herding. It is a poetically written ethnographic text from the perspective of the author as an "observer", in the form of a diary, with quotations and stories from the reindeer herders Enberg visited.

The chapter written by Jan Erik Lundström, the Swedish art curator, concerns the works of three artists: first Katarina Pirak-Sikku and her work "Sápmi" (2008), followed by a more extensive description and analysis of works by Joar Nango, and finally art pieces by Kristin Tårnesvik. As Lundström shows, these artists problematize through their works the views and gazes, and thereby the attitudes, towards the Sámi and Indigenous people.

Ingrid Kristin Dokka of the Norwegian Film Institute focuses her chapter on representations and self-representations in films and discusses a range of productions about Sápmi and the Sámi, from early films to contemporary ones by Sámi producers. Dokka convincingly contextualizes these productions in relation to societal changes. Although the three chapters do not refer to one another, Dokka's, Lundström's, and Svalastog's texts comprise three readings about critical perspectives on representations of Sáminess that complement each other in a productive manner.

Professor of history at Linnaeus University Gunlög Fur's chapter is about the official apology to the Sámi people by the Swedish Minister of Agriculture and Sámi Minister Annika Åhnberg in 1998, and the apology is discussed in relation to Indigenous rights and contexts. It is a timely and well-written contribution to the ongoing debate of reconciliation in the Swedish context, bearing in mind the recent publication of a white paper about the relation between the Swedish Church and the Sámi (Lindmark, Daniel & Sundström, Olle (eds.) 2016) and the work that has been initiated toward the creation of a truth commission (https://www.sametinget.se/90491).

Harald Gaski of the University of Tromsø applies a pan-Sámi and Indigenous perspective in his essay, and he discusses shared foundational values in Sápmi with a poetic yoik text by Anders Fjellner as a point of departure. This chapter is an important contribution to discussions about Indigenous scholarship, taking into account both Sámi and international contexts. Gaski's approach problematizes and questions perceptions of Sámi communities, identities, and discourses of heterogeneity.

As we can read in the introduction, *Riekkis*, the group of scholars behind the book, was formed in 2003 by researchers and teachers who were at the time appointed to or affiliated with Umeå University, and the idea of a publication was launched in 2006. *Visions of Sápmi* has the ambition "to give the readers a first glimpse, from a number of angles, into an exciting and many-facetted field of study" (p. 15).

Umeå University is one of the few universities in the Nordic countries that offers courses in Sámi culture, history, and language on a regular basis, and where one can get a PhD degree in Sámi Studies. Research at the university related to Sámi issues is also promoted through *Vaartoe*, the Center for Sámi Research. It is therefore not surprising that Umeå University is mentioned in the introduction as the starting point for the initiative of the group and for the book project in 2006. What *is* surprising, however, is that the anthology does not include nor enter into dialogue with the research and education in Sámi Studies that is conducted at Umeå University, despite the many connections and common research foci between the authors and scholars at the university.

In terms of readership, *Visions of Sápmi* will provide valuable insights for scholars, teachers, and students interested in expressive culture, issues of representations, and self-representations in general. Readers with interest in Sámi cultural expressions in particular will find in this book a pertinent overview of significant topics in contemporary Sápmi and within the field of Sámi research.

Coppélie Cocq, Umeå

Swedish Meal Culture Past and Present

Richard Tellström, Hunger och törst. Svensk måltidshistoria från överlevnad till statusmarkör. Forum bokförlag, Stockholm 2015. 283 pp. ISBN 978-91-37-14344-6.

■ When tackling a new research topic, one can suddenly discover information about that topic in many different quarters: in the newspapers, in social media, in newly published titles etc. The same applies to any person who becomes interested in something, and you sometimes wonder which came first, the chicken or the egg. For anyone with an interest in food, which includes me, it seems as if everything right now is about food in some form. Interest in food as entertainment, nutrition, lifestyle, environmental impact, a way of socializing, all this refutes the old saying that we eat to survive, as Richard Tellström observes in this book, the title of which means "Hunger and thirst: The history of Swedish meals from survival to status marker". We eat to live, to express ourselves, and to show what we represent.

Tellström gives a multifaceted description of the development of Swedish meals, mainly from the relatively static peasant society of the nineteenth century to today's diet, which is no longer a matter of survival. There has been a corresponding shift throughout the western world, and it is easy to agree with much of what the author says from a Nordic perspective, although Sweden may seem to be the leading Nordic trendsetter. Sweden publishes more cook books, for instance, and many of these signal a lifestyle more than they are used as a source of recipes.

In ten chapters Tellström analyses food and meals from the angle of cultural history. He shows that a food culture does not arise by chance, but is constantly shaped by events that we are more or less unable to affect. Different cultural choices are made at the individual level, but also collectively, since the mealtime community is so crucial for our well-being. Even more important, probably, are technical innovations and political decisions affecting what we put on our plates today. New ways of cooking ingredients give new kinds of food. The entry of the iron range into the kitchen revolutionized not only the dishes people ate and the vessels they were cooked in. It also affected the way of composing meals both the number of dishes and the number of vessels, since it was now easy to heat water for washing up. Still today, our cooking is based on the ability to cook on four heat sources, different components separately. Frying meat in one pan, making the sauce in another, boiling potatoes and vegetables separately, is completely different from cooking everything in one pot. In the pot the taste and consistency were already determined when the food was cooking; when the ingredients are cooked separately, the taste and textures are not mixed until they are in the mouth. Other innovations that Tellström mentions are the mincer and the paraffin lamp, which show the complex network of historical milestones in technology and development that have brought us to where we are today. One can speculate about what things would be like if history had taken a different course – what Tellström calls counterfactual food culture, that is, imagining an alternative course of development for food culture. By reasoning about "what if?" one can make visible ideas and values concerning foodstuffs, dishes, and meals, and Tellström is obviously happy when pursuing this historical speculation: everything from technical innovations to restrictions on food culture, which can be either self-assumed on political grounds or dictated by war and occupation. It is fascinating to be reminded of the ideology behind the Blue-and-White products designed by Konsum as recently as the late 1970s and early 1980s. The idea was that food sold in these basic series would not have variants in taste or types, not have attractive packaging since that could entice people to buy what they did not need, and so on. This is our recent history, a memory that most people have repressed, and today's generation can hardly imagine it in contemporary Swedish cuisine. The chapter on counterfactual gastronomy is perhaps the one that yields the most "aha!" experiences, and Tellström appears to be in top form when he shows how the details build up the whole that is *food culture*.

It is above the emphasis on *culture* that is important in this term. Tellström returns several times to the predominant view of food as nutrition and energy, possibly also a question of rural development, whereas food as culture has not had the same broad recognition. He has interviewed several ministers of culture about their outlook on food culture, but their answers have been vague and evasive. Food has many dimensions, including aesthetic and gastronomic, based on perfect knowledge, training, and

creativity. Yet this is a long way from recognition of the kind that is granted to culture in the sense of art, literature, music, etc. In Sweden, moreover, academic studies of food culture are limited to ten weeks; one cannot take a degree in the subject, even though this complex topic deserves in-depth study.

At Helsinki University there has been a professorship of food culture since 2012, but this is unusual in a global perspective. The chair was established specifically to raise the status of food culture as a research field, and we may hope that other countries will follow.

As Tellström shows throughout the book, foodstuffs always contain some form of nutrition and energy, but they also carry cultural meanings. To fail to realize that is to ignore the significance of humans as cultural beings. Unesco's Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, which Sweden ratified in 2010, has given food and meals – alongside traditions and customs – a chance to be classified as the heritage of humanity in the same way as places and material objects on the World Heritage List. Besides the gastronomic meal of the French, there are five other culinary items on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. On the local and regional level, many more food traditions are listed.

Many aspects are treated in this book. Food memories, diets, politics, innovations and technology, the trivialization of luxury, gender roles, cookery books, boredom, values – indeed, virtually anything that can go under the name of Swedish food culture. Perhaps I miss something about how Swedish food culture has been influenced by immigration, since Sweden is known to be more multicultural than, say, Finland, a trend that started back in the 1950s. What does Swedish food culture mean in today's globalized world? The great mobility, also including tourism, must have an effect on cultural choices to the same extent as the iron range, the mincer, and the paraffin lamp once had.

At the beginning of the book the author gives instructions as to how the book is envisaged as being read. He points out that the chapters are free-standing, and although they are arranged in a logical order they can also be read in any order. Yet the book entices the reader to enjoy it from cover to cover; in format and design it resembles a novel. It suits as bedtime reading but works just as well on the train to work. When you read it from beginning to end you notice repetitions in several of the chapters, which can make it hard to tell one chapter from another as they appear at times to be about the same thing.

There is a trend in English-language literature about food and cookery to produce popular works on cultural history. I am thinking of books like *Consider the Fork: A History of How We Cook and Eat* by Bee Wilson (2012) and *At Home: A Short History of Private Life* by Bill Bryson (2010), which also presents the history of the kitchen. There is much less comparable literature in Swedish, but Tellström's book is a corrective. I can also imagine that it would make a good audio book, or that the different sections would work well as podcasts. It is probably Richard Tellström's journalistic engagement that makes the chapters feel like instalments in a series, this time in text form.

Yrsa Lindqvist, Helsinki

Swedish Women's Voices

Eva Helen Ulvros, Kvinnors röster. Livsöden från det moderna Sveriges framväxt. Historiska Media, Lund 2016. 319 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-7545-324-8.

■ With this book on "Women's Voices", the historian Eva Helen Ulvros presents thirteen women's fates and narratives from the time when modern Sweden emerged, ranging from the latter part of the eighteenth century to the present day. The author's ambition, according to the preface, is to show how hard-working and enterprising women contrast themselves with tenacious old ideas about women being weak and helpless. Since the women here are able to speak for themselves, to a high but varying degree, they also stand out as planning, thinking, and acting subjects.

The book is divided into three chronologically organized sections. Each section begins with a detailed presentation of the structures that determined women's opportunities during the specific period, and the changes that took place. These divisions are explicit, sometimes even over-explicit, and informative. This facilitates the interpretation of the women's narratives. The chapters with the individual women are also interspersed with the author's comments on the conditions applying to the women's lives, and the setting in which they lived. These comments often give useful and interesting

guidance in the reading, but at times in a slightly officious tone that gives the feeling of a textbook in history. There is nothing intrinsically wrong in this, depending on what the intended target group is, but for a reader who is most interested in the women's fates and the way they write, the author's explanations can sometimes obscure the view and mar the reading experience.

The first part comprises the period from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century; the second part covers the latter part of the nineteenth century; and the third part deals with the twentieth century. The youngest woman in the book was born in 1944. The book ends with a short summary where the author reflects on how women's conditions changed during time covered by the book. She notes that there is still inequality between the sexes but ends with the hope that "we shall soon live in a world where no one needs to feel any limitations because we are women or men, but that we ourselves can choose how we want to live our lives."

In the first section we meet five women from southernmost Sweden, all born and active in Skåne and Blekinge. These women all belong to the bourgeoisie, which is explained by the state of the sources. It was bourgeois women who could read and write, and therefore it is only these women's words that are preserved, quite simply. The fact that they all come from the same limited part of Sweden can be explained by Ulvros's previous research, for example, the doctoral dissertation *Fruar och mamseller: Kvinnor inom sydsvensk borgerlighet 1790–1870* (1996). The title of that dissertation is honest, with its reference to the southern Swedish bourgeoisie, whereas the present book promises a more general Swedish perspective with its subtitle meaning "Life Stories from the Emergence of Modern Sweden". I shall return later in the review to this obvious geographical bias.

In this first section, then, we meet women from a bourgeois environment, who write about everything from strong feelings and romance to concrete everyday worries about housekeeping, servants, and other matters. These women are daughters of officials, clergymen, and merchants. With one exception, their marriage takes them to a good social and economic position. The main source material consists of letters written by these women to their fiancé, husband, or some other close relative. Agneta Lindman – who is about to marry the consistory notary, Wilhelm Faxe, later bishop of Lund, but for his fiancée he is "my own tender little Faxe who is so sweet" – is one of the women to whom a reader today can come close through her extant letters. Several of the letters contain descriptions of preparations for the forthcoming wedding and homemaking. She has to order furniture and porcelain, clothes and confectionary for the wedding, but the question of servants also had to be settled before the wedding, and in this case Agneta reveals a shocking (for us) contempt for people of lower social rank. She describes the housekeeper as a "kitchen animal", and on one occasion she expresses delight that her fiancé has employed a kitchen maid with the words: "Many thanks to you for the captured beast." Whether Agneta's view of the servants was representative I cannot say, but the other women's letters express a similarly harsh attitude to the servants. Calling them "animals" appears, at least to me, to be unusually disdainful even for Agneta's time. This relationship to the servants leads one's thoughts to the diary of Märta Helena Reenstierna from roughly the same time. The authoritative lady of Årsta could admittedly record her strong dislike of maids acting carelessly and drinking spirits, or farm labourers not performing their tasks properly due to drunkenness, and she has no qualms about firing servants if she does not trust them, but the general impression of everyday life on the Årsta estate is that she views the servants as co-workers, for better or worse. Calling them "animals" appears to be going much further than scolding staff for doing their work badly.

The women's letters not only record plans and musings about practical responsibilities, but can also overflow with emotional expressions. Henriette Schmidt and her fiancé Oscar Winberg exchanged letters during their engagement, and 198 of these letters survive. They are obviously inspired by contemporary romantic literature, as revealed in their emotional outbursts. "Oscar, Oscar! That is now the name of the sun of my life, illuminated by it, for me there is no more night on earth, its warming rays will chase away any cloud that arises on the sky of my life, for I am, I shall be, happy beyond words." Oscar is no worse: "My Henriette! I came, so I thought, closer and closer to you, I called your name, Henriette! Until my fire burned on your lips, until my eye died against yours, after that there was no need for any talk, until our hearts beat against

each other, love's never known, heavenly *Everything*…". Oscar and Henriette also spice their letters with literary allusions, as when Henriette compares her Oscar to the character Astolf in P. D. A. Atterbom's *Lycksalighetens ö,* or likens herself to Ingeborg in Esaias Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga.* We also follow Henriette and Oscar during their brief marriage (Henriette died before she was 29) and get a picture of family life, in which Oscar was a loving and highly present father of the two children. This short marriage is one of several examples showing that sickness and premature death were realities of life.

No less tender, but more intimate physical expressions of love can be seen in the letters between Helena Winberg and her husband Johan Ulric. Among other things, he was a member of parliament who spent long periods in Stockholm. During his absences the spouses wrote to each other about their great longing for each other, which included physical yearning. "If you were lying in my bed it would be twice as nice," Helena writes, and her husband urges his "little wife" to have a couple of good mattresses stuffed "for us to inaugurate when I come home, and thereby if possible increase the pleasure of our intimacy" and he goes on: "and so, my lovely little, chubby Lena, in a few weeks, and this is no eternity, I will be in your arms, beside your breast, beside your everything." Ulvros generously treats us to quotations from the letters, but she also consistently comments on each quotation, which makes it easy to follow the women's fates and understand the conditions governing their lives. A running theme is the different roles offered to men and women in the bourgeoisie of the time, and this is something the author reminds us of repeatedly.

In the second part of the book, covering the latter part of the nineteenth century, three women speak. By this time women's opportunities for education and a professional career have improved significantly, and modern Sweden is developing quickly. Of these three women, two have been inscribed in Sweden's cultural history, Eva Wigström, the Scanian author and folklife researcher, and Lina Sandell, best known for writing some of our most frequently sung hymns (*Tryggare kan ingen vara, Blott en dag, ett ögonblick i sänder, Bred dina vida vingar*, and many more), but also as an editor.

Eva Wigström, née Pålsdotter, was the daughter of a big farmer, and although she never had a proper schooling she authored stories for children, social reportage, accounts of folklife, and debating articles on the women's question and popular education. She and her husband Claes Wigström, whose jobs included a time as prison director, had a powerful social commitment; for a period they were in charge of a poor-relief institution, and they also founded a folk high school in accordance with Svend Grundtvig's ideas. Eva Wigström propagated for women's right to education. But perhaps she is best remembered as a folklife researcher. In 1878 she began collecting fairytales, legends, folk beliefs, and customs in Skåne. She also did collecting in other provinces, chiefly in southern Sweden. The section about Eva Wigström is mostly based on printed literature about her, and on her own articles on various topics, but Ulvros also gives us examples from Eva Wigström's diary entries from when she was recording folklore. In these notes it is Eva Wigström the folklorist who is talking to us, but she remains more anonymous as a private person. Ulvros thinks that Eva Wigström, despite her pioneering work as a folklorist, has not attained the same obvious place in the research tradition as the male folklife scholars at the same time, and she explains this partly with reference to her sex, that she was self-taught and thus lacked a platform at universities and museums. As a comparison one could mention another productive folklorist at roughly the same time, Gustaf Ericson in the parish of Härad in Södermanland. He too was virtually self-taught but he did outstanding work collecting folklife material in his native district, records now in the archives of the Department of Dialectology and Folklore Research in Uppsala, and partly in the archives of the Nordic Museum. They were both outside academic circles and both intensively engaged in the self-assumed task of preserving peasant traditions for posterity. There the similarities end, perhaps, for whereas Eva Wigström was well off all her life, Gustaf Ericson was a pauper who made great social and economic sacrifices for what he saw as his call. Without in any way saying whose work was most valuable, I would say that Eva Wigström, unlike Gustaf Ericson, is nevertheless inscribed in the history of ethnology.

Lina Sandell, daughter of a clergyman from Fröderyd in the middle of Småland, was perhaps more low-key than Eva Wigström in her commitment to women's rights, but she complained about the criticism of "womenfolk who study", she was in-

fluenced by the writings of Fredrika Bremer, and she earned her own living, both as an independent writer and as editor for the Swedish Evangelical Mission, a movement within the Church of Sweden founded by Carl-Olof Rosenius. Alongside her work as editor she wrote hymns and poems. Spirituality and piety followed Lina Sandell throughout her life. In her actions, if not so much in her words, Lina Sandell was a champion of the women's cause. The Swedish Evangelical Mission was influenced by Herrnhutismen, in which the equality of the sexes was an explicit principle. She was self-supporting, so it was not obvious that she would say yes when the wholesaler Oscar Berg, preacher, advocate of temperance, and a brother in the faith, proposed to her. She nevertheless accepted, but she went on working, which was very unusual for a married woman. Lina Sandell, who thus became Lina Berg, was an interesting woman with an interesting life in which she made fascinating choices. She and her husband were influential and well-known figures in Stockholm. Her biography is presented here, based on other works about Lina Sandell, but despite occasional quotations from her letters and diaries, we do not come close to Lina as a person. As a reader I feel curious and frustrated – is there nothing more to say about Lina Sandell? Can we not get closer to her and her everyday life, as in the case of the women in the first part of the book?

The third and last woman in the second part is Elisabeth Schmidt, whom the reader meets through the diaries she wrote as governess in a vicarage in Bohuslän. This section has the same character as the first part of the book. We follow Elisabeth in what she sees as a thankless and toilsome life as a governess, we understand what she experiences and feels. During her time at the vicarage she meets a friend of the clergyman's family several times, a visitor from far away, Pontus Wikner, an academic from Uppsala. Elisabeth fell in love with Wikner, and much of the diary is about her profound feelings for him, and the disappointment that they were not fully reciprocated, even though he does not appear to have been completely indifferent. Since much of the story of Elisabeth concerns her unhappy love, it is surprising that Ulvros makes no mention whatever of the obvious reason for Wikner's coolness. Pontus Wikner, reader in theoretical philosophy at Uppsala University and later professor in Oslo, has become a figurehead for the gay movement, since his diaries, entitled *Psykologiska självbekännelser* ("Psychological Confessions") were published posthumously in 1971, after both his wife and two sons from the marriage he entered, despite his sexual orientation, were no longer alive. In these diaries he openly reveals his homosexuality, which he had also confessed to his wife, tells of homosexual liaisons in his youth, and suggests that same-sex marriage ought to be permitted. I cannot imagine the possibility that a professor of history does not know what the name Pontus Wikner stands for, and I find it strange that the knowledge of Wikner's homosexuality is not used here to contribute to an understanding of poor Elisabeth's suffering.

The last part of the book deals with the twentieth century, and here we have five women raising their voices in a century that brought completely new opportunities for women's professional work and independence. With reforms, not least of all in education, accessibility to academic studies has increased, and as a consequence social mobility. This is reflected in the women's narratives, as several of them have climbed the class ladder. In this part the book finally moves northwards, from Götaland to Svealand, and here we also find a woman who was born and lived in Lapland. Now we meet Ebba Asp-Andersson, whose long life-journey took her from the home of a landless agricultural labourer in Västmanland, to qualify as a teacher through hard work and sacrifice, becoming involved in politics and fervently participating in the public debate. Now it is possible for more people to travel, and Ebba takes advantage of this. She makes sure to see much of the world, albeit at a rather advanced age.

The only woman representing Norrland is Henny Johansson, who comes from the mountains where her parents were settlers. Henny's life is a stark contrast to the lives of the bourgeois women at the start of the book. Most of her life was spent in extreme poverty, and although the twentieth century in general brought new possibilities for women, she was stuck fast as a social and economic underdog.

The last women in the book are upwardly mobile people who took advantage of the possibility to pursue higher education that was extended to more people through the welfare state. They made sure of getting an academic degree, and one of them reports on what it meant to be among the early female

priests, specifically a hospital chaplain; another woman became a gender researcher, and the third a professor of business administration.

Eva Helen Ulvros's ambition with this book is to use women's voices and narratives to describe the emergence of modern Sweden over two hundred years. The book is entertaining and interesting reading, and people who want to know more will find assistance in that each narrative has its own list of sources and further reading. Several of the stories give profound insight into women's living conditions in different times, allowing us to come close to the individual in everyday joys and sorrows, as well as thoughts about existential issues. The collection of narratives is not cohesive, however; it fails to hold together because of the methodological problem of material that is so diverse in character. The last two parts, with the exception of Elisabeth Schmidt's diary-based description of life as a governess in a clergyman's family, are mostly based on already published biographical accounts. These women thus speak only indirectly, and they remain rather inaccessible, at a distance from the reader. This is a choice that the author has made, but it is not a self-evident choice. In the folklore archives, as in other archives, it would have been perfectly possible to find primary material about women's lives, which could have given the book a completely different character. It is regrettable that Ulvros did not take the opportunity to bring other, hitherto anonymous, women's narratives out of the shadows of the archives instead of reprinting previously published texts. It would also have been possible to add interesting material by interviewing the two youngest women.

Yet another necessary criticism is that there is absolutely no comment on the fact that the women in the book cannot be said to represent Sweden as a whole. Both central Sweden and Norrland are very sparsely represented, and it is typical that the only woman from Norrland is an example of life in poverty among new settlers! A reader who already has preconceived ideas about Norrland will only have them confirmed. I can imagine a defence of the first part of the book exclusively describing bourgeois women in our two southernmost provinces: that bourgeois culture was expressed in the same way regardless of geography. I would object to that imagined defence. Conditions in, say, the capital, or in the industrial communities of central Sweden and Norrland, or in northern towns like Härnösand or Umeå, must have been rather different from circumstances in Skåne and Blekinge.

Reading is also disturbed by careless errors. I have already mentioned the surprising fact that there is no explanation of who Pontus Wikner was. In the chapter about Ebba Asp-Andersson it is stated that Ebba suffered a "devastating blow" in *the summer of 1965* when her son died. In *November that year* Ebba had urged him to take a holiday in the Canary Islands, and just before Christmas he was killed in a plane crash in Tenerife. He was buried on 23 December. Why *the summer of 1965*? Could this mistake not have been corrected by careful proofreading? The same Ebba was in the crowd that gathered outside August Strindberg's home on the corner of Drottninggatan and Tegnérgatan in Stockholm to mark his last birthday. Strindberg died one month later, Ulvros writes. It might be Ebba's mistake, but a few simple keystrokes would have found the information that Strindberg's birthday was on 22 January and he died in the middle of May 1912, roughly four months later. Further, anyone looking for ULMA (*Uppsala landsmålsarkiv*) may have to look for a while, since the archive has not been called that for many years. *Dialekt- och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala* (DFU) is its name today, as the reader could have been informed. Finally, I reacted a few times to the choice of some highly anachronistic words. How is it possible in a text today to call deaf people *dövstumma* ("deaf-mute"), a word that ceased to be used in official texts in the 1950s, and a word that the Swedish National Association for the Deaf firmly advises against? Being deaf does not entail any inability to produce sounds. *Åderförkalkad* ("with hardened arteries") is another such word that one is seldom forced to read as a designation for a person with dementia. It is understandable that the words may be used in the primary texts, but that is no reason for using them in the comments.

I find it a pity that the good intentions of this book partly fail on account of the flaws described above. Having said that, I must stress that the book is definitely pleasurable and informative reading about women's lives and conditions over a long period. This applies in particular to the first part of the collection.

Katarina Ek-Nilsson, Uppsala

Eighteenth-Century Midwives

Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen, De frimodiga. Barnmorskor, barnafödande och kroppslighet på 1700-talet. Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland no. 804, Helsingfors 2016. 230 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-951-583-343-3.

■ This book starts in 1682 at the royal castle in Stockholm, with Queen Ulrika Eleonora giving birth to her second child. The midwife was Catharina Went, who had been trained and licensed in Hamburg. She was a professional midwife who shared the privilege of male master craftsmen: she was entitled to have a sign outside her home. The midwife's sign could depict a cherub-like, round-cheeked baby, a stork, the formerly obligatory birthing chair or an enema syringe. Midwives were organized in a guild and were relatively well paid.

Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen studies Finland's and Sweden's first trained midwives in the eighteenth century and the training they underwent. The focus is on the practice of the midwife profession: who took care of what in obstetric care, who performed examinations at the request of the courts and in what capacity, and how tasks and actions were distributed among the professional spheres of the midwife, the barber-surgeon, and the physician. Based on this, the author seeks to ascertain the midwives' authority and exercise of power and how they viewed their professional identity. The aim is to shift the perspective from an assumption about women's subordination in society that has long dominated gender history, towards women's agency, their possibilities and strategies within the framework of the structural subordination. The source material consists of the archives of public authorities, midwives' written accounts, population registers, estate inventories, and court records.

Interwoven in what can be called a profession study we find details about the midwives' lives and the conditions for women in general, but also for children and men. What was childbirth like in older times, who was present at the delivery, what role did menstruation play for girls and women, what was social and sexual intercourse between women and men like? Other topics considered are infant mortality, the view of breastfeeding, infant care, birth control, and other associated themes – as covered in the *kroppslighet* or "corporeality" of the title. These are interesting and important questions, but it is only in exceptional cases that they can be answered with the aid of the source material. Here the author goes to earlier research which is used here to contextualize the midwives' and other people's everyday lives, but unfortunately this interrupts the account without telling us very much about the main characters – the trained midwives. Since these parts are predominantly descriptive they do not add any new knowledge about the topics they cover. I cannot let go of the thought that the source material carries much more information about the midwives and their lives than what the author lets us share about these "bold" women" – *de frimodiga*.

The chief merit of the book is the description of the midwife profession and examples of individual midwives and their work. In 1711 Swedish authorities issued new and more extensive regulations for midwives in Stockholm. The regulations were also to be applied in other parts of the kingdom. They required a two-year apprenticeship, passing an examination supervised by the Board of Medicine, taking a professional oath, receiving a diploma and the right to hang a midwife sign outside the house.

Midwife training was the most all-round and demanding training a woman could have in the eighteenth century in Sweden and Finland. Four particularly important things which they had to be able to do were: to perform an internal examination, to help the baby's head out, to look after the placenta, and to turn a foetus that was lying in the wrong position. Untrained helpers and barber-surgeons could not do the first and last of these. It was also important for a midwife to know about the behaviour and properties of the vagina and the uterus, as well as the anus and the bladder. The trained midwives' knowledge and methods are close to the outlook we have on the profession today. By today's standards, they can in many respects be regarded as privileged, and they had a clear professional identity based on their training.

The educational ambitions can be viewed in connection with the Enlightenment ideal of useful knowledge being the nation's chief source of happiness. The women were encouraged to do as men did: to seek knowledge out of personal interest, and to make use of their reason. The teachers and decision makers do not appear to have perceived it as a problem or a conflict that women who were under the legal guardianship of their husbands left the

family to go to the capital for their training. The women themselves do not seem to have regarded reading books and attending lectures as being unthinkable or unsuitable. On the other hand, it cannot have been easy for them to assimilate the anatomical and medical knowledge in the textbooks – the ones that were used were written by the city medical officer Johan von Hoorn, who renewed and developed the training of midwives. The trainee midwives lacked prior medical knowledge but they did master reading, writing, and arithmetic.

At first it was only women who were married and who had had children themselves who could be admitted to the training. In Sweden it became possible in 1795 for unmarried and childless women to take the training. The majority of the would-be midwives were recruited from among bourgeois wives in their thirties and forties – forty was regarded as a good age. The explanation for the absence of women from the urban working class or from rural areas – the women who later filled the midwife training programmes – is that they could not write, according to the author. Peasant women could read but not write, and as office holders the midwives had to be able to write and use their own signature to confirm their testimony and sign certificates provided to courts and parishes. Not many documents written by midwives survive, however. Their job applications appear to have been written by professional scribes.

A woman who went to Stockholm to train as a midwife had to have authorization from her future employer, the town or parish that paid for the travel and the education. There is no evidence that the woman was obliged to have her husband's permission, but the woman herself was always present at the decision on authorization. The women came from the countryside to Stockholm and had their instruction and exams in the stateliest baroque buildings of the capital. The midwives were taught by the country's most respected and knowledgeable people in the field, professors of obstetrics, and by the most experienced midwives. They sat their examination in Wrangelska Palatset on Riddarholmen and teaching was done in private homes and at Sweden's first hospital, Serafimerlasarettet on Kungsholmen, established in 1732. There was also a practice hospital in Sparreska Palatset, a palace on Riddarholmen.

The journey to Stockholm and the stay there entailed an expensive investment. The cost was covered by the town, the industrial estate, or the parish that wished to employ the midwife. Careful deliberations were necessary before a decision was made, but conflicts often arose about unforeseen expenses – it cost more than expected. The annual rent for a furnished room in Stockholm was 33 riksdaler, and food, heating, and cleaning cost between 6 and 7 daler a month. Then there was the registration fee of 40 skilling for the professor of obstetrics; examination fees cost one daler and the practice hospital took 24 skilling, 16 skilling had to be given to the hospitals' poor relief fund, the seal and the certificate cost 8 skilling. All this was equivalent to the cost of fifteen barrels of rye or five oxen; three barrels of rye were enough for a big family for one year. The average wage of a town midwife was just over 100 silverdaler a year, in Finland. Over and above this they received large sums from private clients; but a doctor earned three times as much. The registered midwife at the Stockholm Public Maternity Clinic had an annual salary of 360 daler silvermynt and a house that went with the job, where the employer provided lighting and firewood. Estate inventories show that midwives could become quite rich and live in relative prosperity for someone belonging to the lower bourgeoisie.

Besides deliveries, the midwife's job included performing examinations, testifying at trials for suspected infanticide, rape, incest, sexual deviation, and adultery. Here she exercised public power and had a clearly defined legal role in relation to physicians and barber-surgeons; the former focused on the victim, performed autopsies, and examined injuries, while the midwife examined the woman who had given birth.

The author partly succeeds in her aim and gives many examples of women's agency and strong position, but she does not discuss this explicitly, and hardly even comments on it, merely providing examples. The concluding chapter with theoretical ambitions, referring to the historians Joan Scott and Yvonne Hirdman, is not allowed to affect the presentation. The author finds that many of the conclusions of gender historians and researchers in women's studies are difficult to apply to the midwives and that the midwives' history is not generally applicable to eighteenth-century women. The midwives cannot be defined in terms of a lack of

professional identity and training, nor in the usual terms of female subordination. My question is: What do the trained midwives and their social conditions represent? What breakpoints exist and what boundaries are transgressed? A deeper analysis is lacking here.

Inger Lövkrona, Lund

Seawomen of Iceland

Margaret Willson, Seawomen of Iceland. Surviving on the Edge. University of Washington Press, Seattle/ Museum Tusculanum Press, Copenhagen 2016. 274 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-635-4484-9.

■ In Iceland, women for centuries have had a deep knowledge of the sea and a close relationship to it. Seawomen steered and commanded boats and held respected positions within their communities as both crew and foremen. And they have always participated in passing on this maritime knowledge from generation to generation. But today women are fading from the profession. Why is that? And why is it that there is so little awareness of the Icelandic women who fished in the past?

In *Seawomen of Iceland: Survival on the Edge* the anthropologist Margaret Willson sets out to discover the buried heritage of Icelandic seawomen. In her quest for knowledge she takes the reader on a journey of discovery where we get to know dozens of fishing women, past and present, with fascinating stories to tell. The author starts off with an interest in the only previously well-known female fisher in Iceland's history (foreman Thurídur Einarsdóttir, born in 1777), only to discover the amazing records of hundreds of fishing women. The second half of the book sheds light on how processes of modernization and neo-liberalization have resulted in women's systematic exclusion from sea work and today's fishing industry. A theme running through the study is the observation that whilst Iceland still identifies itself as a fishing nation, the heritage of seawomen is almost totally ignored.

As is clear from the analysis, Iceland's processes of "progress" is not an all-embracing success story, but neither is there reason to be nostalgic about the heyday of female fishers. During the 1700s and 1800s a large part of the population struggled with poverty and famine. Several natural disasters hit the country, and Danish rule with its trade monopoly was detrimental to the economy. The country had the highest infant mortality rates in Europe, and faced a constant population decline. In addition to that, society was very socially stratified. Most Icelanders were literally born serfs, tethered to a farmland system where the landowner controlled access to sea and owned most of the fishing fleet.

Fishing was carried out as a complement to other farm work, at the seaside farms and at remote outstations. Cod and halibut were the most commercially valued catch, but the fish of subsistence was the lumpfish. The boats used were small, undecked rowing boats without sails. Although they mostly stayed close to shore, the cold waves and rocky coasts of Iceland made fishing a risky business, causing many causalities. Landing the catch was a particularly hazardous moment, since the coast lacked proper harbours and breakwaters.

Since the farmhand's fishing share went to his or her contracted farmer, farmers valued good seafarers, regardless of gender. Hence men, women and children all worked together in the catching of fish and the related duties on shore. In some parts of Iceland it was considered good luck to have a woman, or even better a pregnant woman, on board. Some women (as well as men) were also known to be *fiskin*, i.e. having supernatural ability to "attract" fish. Most women worked as deckhands, but there were also several female foremen and women who owned boats, which was linked to a considerable power position in Icelandic society.

Although fishing was a demanding task, there were women who really enjoyed being at sea. For the farmhands, seasonal fishing at the outstations was a particularly coveted assignment, as it offered an escape from harder farm duties and, to a certain extent, meant loosened control. At the outstations, there was also a fair chance to catch more valuable fish, and independent deckhands could make good money, since men and women received an equal share of the catch. In a preserved poem by Thurídur Jónsdóttir, who fished for many seasons in the early 1800s, her love for the austere outstation at Dritvík (nicknamed Vík) is beautifully worded:

Rowing from Vík's a life of ease,
In virtues rich, Vík has no price
In Vík, God will always please,
For Vík is just like Paradise.

In the mid-1800s fishing began to take precedence over farming. The Danish crown relaxed social and importation restrictions, the economy prospered and Iceland moved towards an increased emphasis on a home for every family. As a result boat ownership diversified, and the numbers, designs and sizes of the fishing boats increased considerably. The new boats caught more fish, and the processing of fish on shore had to keep up. In fishing families specific jobs developed: those going out to sea took care of the boat and the fishing, while others who remained on shore processed the fish. The sea work became established as the work mostly of men, but the family or farm still worked together as a unit, making no distinction between the value of the individual labour for sea and shore work.

Through time, however, roles in the new society became increasingly defined by gender, with that of a housewife rising in the national perception as the feminine ideal. "Modern", partly imported, attitudes effectively transformed the Icelandic perception of women from one in which a woman can be an equal and capable seafarer into one in which seawomen are unacceptably unfeminine, and might cause bad luck once they set foot on board. Also, with the growing population, there were now enough men to cover fishing jobs. So, reminiscent of what happened to women after World War II, as the need diminished, the previous tacit acceptable and even expectation of a woman's ability to fill those sea roles evaporated.

In the early 1980s the situation for fishing women became even more challenging, as Iceland initiated a policy of fisheries privatization, the *kvóti* system. The rights to fish were divided into a number of privately own "shares" that could be traded and used in any area. This made way for larger companies, running their business from a few big harbours. Most women from coastal communities thereby lost a natural connection to fishing. Not being familiar with the skipper and the crew turned out to be a constant disadvantage for women aiming at a career at sea, since it made it harder for them to get their first jobs and since they risked various sorts of harassment. Also, the boats begun to stay out longer, making it difficult to combine sea work with parenting.

In recent years, the number of women engaged in commercial fishing has dropped dramatically. Today, only about 300 people, or a little more than four per cent of the registered fishing crews on large-vessel fishing boats in Iceland are women. It is interesting to note that whilst principles from the 1720 law giving women an equal share of the catch still stand, meaning that women can earn a lot of money going to sea, most of them stay with low-wage shore jobs, processing the fish. As stressed by the author, current notions of gender and the sea are at work, discouraging female seamen: "Since fishing in current-day Iceland is generally considered a male occupation too difficult and dangerous for the modern woman, women who wanted to fish now faced this major barrier of attitude before they even got to the actual demands and dangers of the sea: the resistance of a society that, after erasing their historic existence, now deemed them incapable of seamanship. In this new twentieth-century reality, the sea had become a male realm completely separate from a female shore. This even made the concept of a seawoman something alien, out of place."

This change is also notable in history writing. Before the 1870s, accounts constantly applaud seawomen for their courage, their ability to get fish, and their physical and emotional strength. But in the 1900s an interesting transformation of the past begins: as a women's role becomes more closely tied to home, accounts of seagoing women increasingly present the women as unacceptable. As Willson puts it: "The most effective way to curtail the seawomen's presence is simply to erase them from history and, as much as possible, from the present. And this is what Iceland has largely done… The erasure of seawomen from the country's collective memory is so complete that even current seawomen are mostly unaware of the rich history of their forebears."

As might be mirrored in the previous quotations, the writing in *Seawomen of Iceland* is accessible and intriguing. It is characterized by a strong overt authorial presence, and the great engagement of the author infects the reader. There is no doubt that the story is based on solid research, but it is also very narrative. For instance, every other historic seawoman mentioned in the book is so skilled, brave, wise and good hearted that they seem like characters in a saga. One reason for this is that the historic fishing women were not mentioned in the accounts unless they did something extraordinary. But still I get a vague feeling that some of the examples and conclusions might be a bit loaded and (maybe?) selec-

tive. The work draws on various kinds of sources, and my only criticism is that I sometimes get somewhat confused over their credibility.

The publication strengthens several important arguments outlined in other studies. I think of how women often are overlooked in maritime history, and how they nevertheless are found to have formed part of it – as shown in Tytti Steel's thesis on female dock workers in Finland in the extended 1950s, and my own study on female presence in the early modern navy. I think of living and working conditions in maritime homosocial spaces, and how the Icelandic seawomen's testimony reaffirms many of the observations made in Ingrid Kaijser's research on seafaring women in the twentieth century. Finally, Lena Sommestad's thesis on the masculinization process in skilled dairy work in Swedish springs to my mind, as another example of how industrialization has forced women into subordinate positions in the workplace. Above all this there is the fascinating issue of forgetting and remembering, and the importance of history and representation, which is topical both in the humanities and in the public debate.

I am very glad I came across this intriguing ethnographic narrative. It offers a glimpse into Iceland's fascinating history and society, and it raises questions about what parts of the past and the present we are ignorant of today, unwittingly erasing from our collective memory.

Mirja Arnshav, Stockholm

À la Mode. Fashion between Art, Culture and Consumption

À la mode. Mode mellan konst, kultur och kommers. Ida de Wit Sandström & Cecilia Fredriksson (eds.). [Co-published with the Centre for Oresund Region Studies at the University of Lund. Makadam Förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2016. 340 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7061-216-9.

■ Fashion is no longer a subject of art historical or sociological theorizing alone; in recent decades, fashion studies has established itself as a multidisciplinary field that includes several research perspectives. The anthology *À la mode. Mode mellan konst, kultur och kommers*, edited by Ida de Wit Sandström and Cecilia Fredriksson, presents current Swedish, Danish and Norwegian research on fashion from the perspectives ethnology, anthropology, art history, fashion studies, service studies and the history of ideas. The aim of the book is to show the role of fashion as a way to represent oneself in the global world as well as to position individuals both economically, socially and culturally. As the editors point out in the introduction, fashion is a matter of positioning. It is about the need or the chance to indicate belonging to or distinction from some group, style or time. The book focuses on how fashion is made in everyday practices in both the private and professional sphere, in the past and present. These everyday practices include both the consequences and the expressions of current ideas and hierarchies that together make the market of fashion.

The articles in the first part of the book, "Organisera och arbeta" (To organize and to work), study how the fundamental preconditions and logics of the market of fashion characterize professional work in the fashion industry. As fashion is usually mainly explained from the consumers' perspective, this part of the book discusses the actual work in fashion design. The second part, "Förhandla och navigera" (To negotiate and navigate), focuses on the consumers and users of fashion. The articles shed light on the norms and ideals that characterize the consumption of fashion. In the final part of the book, "Skärningspunkter och översättningar" (Intersections and translations), fashion is analyzed as a phenomenon in the borderlines of art, culture and commercialism.

In this book review, I focus on the second part of the book, the consumption and use of fashion, which are the most typical perspectives to cultural and social phenomena in ethnology. The section starts with an article by historian Agneta Helmius, who analyzes the discussion about *sprätthöken*, the fashionable dandies, in weeklies in 18th-century Sweden. Also in those days, fashion was seen as a feminine practice, and the "sprätthöken" challenged the contemporary norms and ideas of masculinity because they did not meet the requirements of a moral and sensible man.

Historical perspectives to fashion as a cultural and social phenomenon are also brought up by cultural historian Anne-Sofie Hjemdahl and ethnologist Carina Sjöholm. Hjemdahl shows in her article how ready-to-wear clothes became an important part of the Norwegian housewife movement in the 1920s. As the foreign ready-to-wear industry started to take

over the Norwegian market, the housewife movement took an active role in promoting the Norwegian ready-to-wear industry. Hjemdahl discusses how fashion was used to give meanings to and materialize the "Norwegian": the choice of fashion was presented as a political and moral question. Carina Sjöholm's article focuses on the role of movies and film stars in consuming fashion in the 1940s and 1950s. As the consumer society was established in Sweden in the postwar era, movies had an important role in representing and spreading fashion, as she points out. Through film posters and the newly emerged stars and movie culture, the fashions worn and advertised by the stars became familiar also to those people who did not see the actual films. Film stars were also important idols for fashions in dress, hairstyles and make-up.

The other four articles in this section discuss current phenomena, such as new ways of shopping and consuming fashion, as well as the relationship to fashion of two groups that have often remained on the margins studies of fashion and consumption, namely men and ageing women.

"It is hopeless to buy clothes when you get old" is the title of Karin Lövgren's article. On the basis of interviews, she studies how age is made and negotiated with clothing. The article shows how aging women deal with and think about clothes, their body, ageing and buying clothing. Men's relationship to their body, fashion and age is discussed by fashion researchers Trine Brun Petersen and Maria McKinney-Valentin, who in their article study the meaning of beard for ordinary men today. The article is based on interviews made with 20- to 70-year-old men. The article discusses the meanings of beard for masculinity and age, and shows how every generation of men gives new meanings to beard.

The consumption of fashion has, at least since the days of Thorstein Veblen, been criticized as idle. Nowadays, such phenomena as "don't buy anything for a year", the idea of sustainable development and the KonMari method challenge the traditional fashion cycles and consumption by criticizing conspicuous consumption, unnecessary shopping and the never-ending fashion cycles.

Ethnologist Cecilia Fredriksson focuses in her article on the current phenomenon or lifestyle based on the idea of consuming or buying as little as possible. She shows how this lifestyle phenomenon takes the form of a confession and a personal awakening to live a new kind of life. Traditional forms of consumption are also challenged in the Facebook second-hand shopping groups that are discussed by Hanna Wittrock. In her article, she shows that the consumption of fashion in these Facebook groups differs very much from the ideas typically associated with fashion in postmodern society. In the Facebook groups, consumers are interested in the production process of fashion, and the meaning of the group as a social community is as important as shopping.

The articles in this section give many insights on the use and consumption of fashion in the past and present. They also represent a wide variety of research material and methods used in the study of fashion, such as interviews, written oral history material, weeklies, archival material and Internet material collected with netnographic methods. The editors write in the introduction (p. 21) that they hope that the book would inspire readers to regard, think and understand fashion through the several approaches and empirical materials represented in the book. However, the approaches and materials that are used are not thoroughly described in the articles, which means that tips regarding the use of the material and methods in question have to be sought somewhere else.

Another deficiency of the book is also that the concept "fashion" is explained only shortly. It is said in the introduction (p. 9) that fashion is "a way to configure individuality, society and context through aesthetic means". The use of the concept is not contextualized in any academic discussion about fashion, clothing, dress or appearance. As the editors point out in the introduction, fashion has in recent years established itself as an expanding field of research that is studied in many academic disciplines. It would have been helpful for students or researchers interested in the study of fashion if the editors had given background information about the fashion studies the book represents. As dress historian Lou Taylor (Fashion and Dress History 2013: 23–25) has recently noted, all the new approaches in fashion and dress studies have not made the study of the topic any easier because they all have developed their own methodologies and specific interests. Also their definitions are far from clear since they differ from one university and scholar to the other. Now it is not clear which academic approaches the book *À*

la mode aims to cover and which academic discussions to contribute to. The same also applies to individual articles.

Arja Turunen, Jyväskylä

Young People Finding Community

Maria Zackariasson, Gemenskapen. Deltagande, identitet och religiositet bland unga i Equmenia. Molin & Sorgenfrei Förlag, Farsta 2016. 232 pp. ISBN 978-91-87515-25-5.

■ Nowadays many associations complain that young people are not interested in their activities. Most of them are said to consist of retired people. This also raises questions about young people's interest in society at large. A question often heard is, will they in due course take responsibility for their country or for the world? Another concerns the problem of lacking training in how to maintain democracy, one of the most appreciated values in Swedish politics.

Among other topics, the activities of young people interested Maria Zackariasson. She studied the international Attac network and young people who take great responsibility for their future. In her new book she concentrates on religiously active young Swedes. Her starting point is that religious people often are regarded somewhat self-centred and introvert. She asks whether this also is true among young people and, if so, how it affects their ego image, their view of democracy and their responsibility for their milieu.

Zackariasson conducts her investigation by the help of twenty-two deep interviews with young adults who are engaged in the Swedish Equmenia Church, which is a combination of three free churches: the Baptists, the Methodists and the Svenska Missionskyrkan. Besides worship, Equmenia offers a lot of engagement, for instance scouting, music, and popular adult education. Her theoretical starting point is constructed with ingredients from youth research, the sociology of religion, the study of emotions, and intersectionality. The ego image and the image of the Christian actor in the surrounding world are central topics in the book. Being an ethnologist (folklorist) Zackariasson concentrates on the way the interviewees express themselves, the nuances in their narratives, and the perspective-from-within, which means that she refers to the individual narratives in detail and does not have any ambition to present a general survey of the worldview of young Christian Swedes.

It turns out that young people active within the Equmenia Church represent quite a broad spectrum of the population in Sweden. Both believers and non-believers are found among them. Why would a non-believer take an active part in a religious, deeply Christian, movement? There are many answers to this question, but most of them are united by a disinclination to be the "normal" kind of kid, for whom hedonism, experimenting with alcohol and drugs, and sexual freedom seem characteristic. On the other hand, the interviewees are also anxious not to be regarded as so well-behaved that they seem boring.

Zackariasson refers to the evaluation of the parents of the young people when they joined the Equmenia Church. Most of the youngsters were very happy, whereas others who had not themselves been active within any kind of Christian work were uneasy and felt strange. The relationship between the active young person and his or her leaders also has a chapter of its own in the book, for if democracy appears to be in danger among young people in our society this must be even more so in a Christian environment with its seeming authoritarian leadership.

A characteristic of this book is the author's thorough use of her material. Every perspective found in the interviews gets its place and context in the book. Zackariasson finds expressions about how the young people get engaged in Equmenia and how they stay engaged, what expectations they have or what expectations they think that outsiders or other members of Equmenia have of them, but also what causes conflicts and how to find respect for one another. Equmenia is certainly an association in which young people learn leadership, compromise, respect, and many other skills needed in society and general life. To some of them the belief in God is the reason for their work. To others their engagement simply gives them a nice hobby. Some of these young people did not really want to lead worship or have a place in an administrative body but when asked to perform they might be flattered to such a degree that they do not refuse. This certainly trains their perseverance besides gives them administrative and performing skills.

Zackariasson must be a very skilful interviewer. Her interviewees have told her quite a lot of non-conventional and very frank facts about themselves. Very open discussions about sex and drugs are mentioned in the interviews. Some of the young people found the conversations informative and rewarding, whereas others might be somewhat embarrassed. Some of them admitted that they participated in Equmenia just for fun, for friendship, for not wanting to be a "normal" young person. They even told her that worship, the most central activity in a Christian church or a Christian movement, might be disgusting, and that they were afraid to take part in this act because of some peculiar traits there. Common prayers, glossolalia and other kinds of emotionally influential behaviour were too much for some participants, whereas others loved exactly those parts.

All through the book the author weaves relevant theoretical viewpoints into her text. This makes the read interesting for it turns out that Christian engagement to a great extent resembles engagement in other kinds of associations. Zackariasson finds that the engagement in Equmenia fosters the participants to meet different kinds of people, to carry responsibility for other humans, for the environment, to observe administratively correct behaviour and to take on obligations for society in general. However, this is not an automatic and conflict-free process, but an individual expression of development through several kinds of reflections about human terms and conditions, not least in relationship to the central Christian values that may be accepted or rejected. Other values than these can be regarded as more precious. In this way Zackariasson grapples with quite a number of all the prejudices that exist about the young people of today.

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, Åbo

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Articles should if possible be sent by e-mail or on diskette. Manuscripts should preferably be in English, although German may be accepted; if necessary the language will be edited by a native speaker. Articles may be submitted in the Scandinavian languages for translation, but articles in Finnish should be translated in Finland before submission. Articles will undergo peer review. We reserve the right to revise and cut the texts, and to ask authors to make revisions.

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